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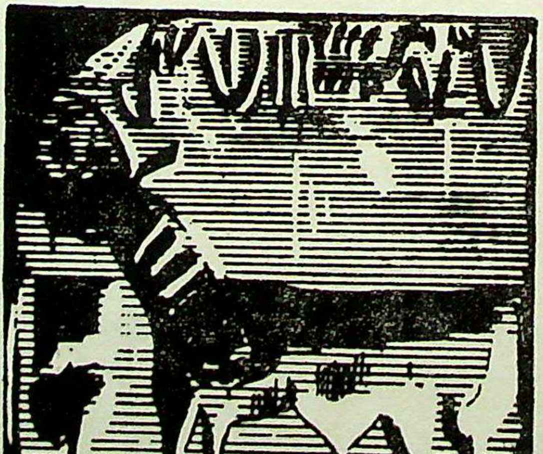

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CONTENTS

Page

Kṣetriya 1
By Dr. V. W. Karambelkar, M.A., Ph.D.,

First Muslim Conquest of Lakhnor ... 11
By Ahmad Hasan Dani, M.A.

Origin of Nasir-ud-din Khusrau Shah of Delhi ... 19
By Dr. A. L. Srivastava, M.A., Ph.D., D.Litt.

Rānā Udayasiṁha and the Sūr Emperors of Delhi ... 25
By Dr. D. C. Sircar, M.A., Ph.D.

Early Rulers of Mewar and their Fights with the Arabs 31
By Prof. M. L. Mathur, M.A.

The Janapada and the Greek City-State ... 38
By Dr. V. S. Agrawala, M.A., Ph.D.

Some Family Letters in Kharoṣṭhī Script from Central Asia 50
By Ratna Chandra Agrawala, M.A.

The Liberal Policy in Afganisthan during 1880-84 57
By Dilip Kumar Ghose, M.A.

Suśruta, Caraka and Bharata 68
By Ramendra Kumar Sen, M.A., LL.B.

Miscellany

An Early Image of Kārttikeya from Taxila 81
By R. C. Kar, M.A.

Subhāṣitaratnakaraṇḍakathā 86
By Dr. Anukul Chandra Banerjee, M.A., Ph.D.

A peep into the causes of the political aggrandisement of Kāśmīra in the 7th and 8th centuries ... 89
By Sunil Chandra Ray, M.A. D.Phil.

Life of Nāgārjuna 93
By Sunitikumar Pathak, M.A.

Select Contents of Oriental Journals 96

CONTENTS

Page

The Atharva-vedic Hymn to the Earth ... 101
By Prof. P. S. Sastri, M.A.

Ācārya Siṃhanandin, King-Maker and Pontiff ... 120
By A. R. Baji, M.A.

Date of Bak̲h̲t-yār's raid on Nadiyā ... 133
By Ahmad Hasan Dani, M.A.

Concordance of the Fauna in the Rāmāyaṇa ... 148
By Sibadas Chaudhuri

Rāmāyaṇa Scenes in Rājasthāna Sculptures ... 154
By Ratna Chandra Agrawala, M.A.

Kanauj after Harṣa's Death ... 160
By Prof. Sudhakar Chattopadhyaya, M.A., D.Litt.

Was there any conflict between the Brahmins and the Buddhists ? ... 167
By Y. Krishan, M.A.

Miscellany

A Note on Rāṇā Mokal's Plate ... 178
By Dr. G. N. Sharma, M.A., Ph.D.

Two Jain Inscriptions in the Lucknow Museum ... 183
By Dr. D. C. Sircar, M.A., Ph.D.

A note on सीदत सावद्य चेदिः ... 189
By Sisir Kumar Mitra, M.A.

New Light on the Early Rāṣṭrakūṭa House ... 193
By H. V. Trivedi, M.A.

Varṣakriyākaumudī and Kāśīrāma ... 196
By Prof. Chintaharan Chakravarti, M.A.

Select Contents of Oriental Journals 199

Bibliographical Notes 203

CONTENTS

Page

New Facts about the Senas 205
By Dr. D. C. Sircar, M.A., Ph.D.

The Kuṣāṇa Invasion of India under Kumāragupta ... 219
By Buddha Prakash, M.A., LL.B., Ph.D.

Fortifications of Cities in Ancient India 237
By Udai Narain Roy, M.A.

Apabhraṁśa and post-Apabhraṁśa Features in the early Prākrits 245
By Prof. S. N. Ghosal, M.A.

Miscellany

Jalāl-ud-Dīn the Patron of Rāyamukuṭa 264
By Ahmad Hasan Dani, M.A.

The date of the Andhavaram Plates of Gaṅga Indravarman III 271
By Prof. V. V. Mirashi, M.A.

A Śātavāhana Legend 276
By S. B. Deo, M.A.

Some Passages from the Kavīndra-vacana-samuccaya ... 282
By Dr. S. K. De, M.A., D.Litt.

The Sātavāhana Kings Hāla and Sāti 286
By Sant Lal Katare, M.A., D.Litt.

Reviews:

Religions of Ancient India 291
The Career of Mirjafar Khan 294
By S. K. D.

Select Contents of Oriental Journals 296

CONTENTS

Page

The Soma Lyricism of Ṛg. Veda 301
By Dr. P. S. Sastri, M.A., Ph.D.

Maharana Udai Singh and the Sur Emperors of Delhi 311
By Arya Ramachandra G. Tiwari, M.A., LL.B.

Bengal's Contribution to Mahāyāna Literature ... 327
By N. N. Das Gupta, M.A.

Ancient Indian Geography 332
By Sures Chandra Banerji, M.A.

Kṛṣṇa and Balarāma in Rājasthāna Sculptures and Epigraphs 339
By Ratna Chandra Agrawala, M.A.

Vaiṣṇavism 354
By Kunja Govinda Goswami, M.A.

Miscellany

The Purāṇas on the Imperial Guptas 374
By Prof. Dasaratha Sharma, M.A., D.Litt.

The author of the Rāmābhudaya—his date and identity 379
By Sunil Chandra Ray, M.A., D.Phil.

Date of the Imādpur Image Inscription of Mahipāla I 382
By Dr. D. C. Sircar, M.A., Ph.D.

A Unique Image of Yoga-Nārāyaṇa in the Jodhpur Museum 388
By Ratna Chandra Agrawala, M.A.

Select Contents of Oriental Journals 391

Bibliographical Notes 399

The Indian Historical Quarterly

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Kṣetriya

(Disease and Medicine in the Atharvan)

Introduction

The disease Kṣetriya, one of the most doubtful in the whole series of the Atharvan diseases, is treated exclusively in AV. 11.8;10; and 111.7 of the Śaunakīya recension. It is also incidentally mentioned there in 11.14.5 (in plural) and in IV. 8.7 (in connection with the plant Apāmārga)[1]. Prof. Bloomfield thinks that the origin of the disease is mentioned in AV. V.30.4[2]. The three hymns entirely devoted to the disease Kṣetriya in the AVŚ are found also in the Paippalāda recension 11.10 and 111.7 with a few variants and a little change in the order of the verses (11.10 and 111.7 AVP respectively), 11.8 being represented by the first verse only in Bk. I of the AVP. The hymn 11.10 occurs in the *Taittirīya Brāhmaṇa* 11.5.6.1-3 and parts of it are also found in Hir. Gṛh. Sū. 11.3.10; 4.1 and ĀPs. Gṛh. Sū. VI. 15.4. The first stanza of 111.7 occurs at the ĀPs. Śrau. Sū. XIII. 7.16 and the second at *ib*.X.10.3.

Difference of Opinion

There is a great uncertainty about the nature of the disease, Kṣetriya. The hymns dealing with it do not mention a single symptom of the disease. Thus 11.8 which is addressed to a plant (Kṣetriyanāśanī vīrut) begins with a prayer to the two stars "Vichṛtau" which are supposed to release the "ties of the disease"; then comes the hope that the Kṣetriya-destroying plant would destroy the disease; next white-stalked brown barley and sesame-blossom are mentiond as additional herbal remedies against the Kṣetriya and finally comes the salutation to 'plough', to 'pairs of yokes', to 'Sanisrasākṣyas and Sandeśyas'[3] and the "Lord of the fields" (Kṣetrapati). The hymn II.10 is a benedictory prayer uttered by the Atharvan priest over the patient, probably suffering from Kṣetriya. Its refrain is:

---

[1] Apāmārga = Achyranthes aspera, employed in all kinds of evil and hostile witchcraft. AV. IV. 17; 19; V. 14; 31; VIII. 5; IX. 1; RV. X. 31. 11.

[2] Bloomfield. SBE. xlii, p. 287. This, as will be shown later on in this paper, is not acceptable.

"अनागसं ब्रह्मणा त्वा कृणोमि शिवे ते द्यावापृथिवी उभे स्ताम्" ।

'With this prayer I make thee free from sin; May the Heaven and the Earth be auspicious to thee'. Its refrain, its invocations to Agni, Vāyu, Waters, the Cardinal Points, etc. and its total lack of every thing concerning the disease Kṣetriya except, perhaps, the mentioning of its name, make the hymn too much of general application. Similarly the hymn III. 7 is a praise of the "Medicine on the head of the jumping antelope", of the two remedial stars "Vicṛtau" and of the healing waters. In this way in all these three hymns, nowhere do we find a single symptom of the disease Kṣetriya mentioned still, Kṣetriya is the name of a disease, for in II.10.5-6 it is called yakṣma; in III.7.1-3 it is mentioned as affecting 'all round', 'belonging to the members of the body' and 'residing in the heart' and lastly is recommended a medicine (bheṣaja).

Owing to such complete silence of the hymns about the symptomatic behaviour of the disease Kṣetriya, the commentators and the interpreters are at a loss to name any particular disease by Kṣetriya and either give a long list of diseases under the term or render it too generally as a "family disease" or an 'organic disease' or a "hereditary disease". Thus Dārile calls it "कौलो व्याधिः"—family disease (at Kau. Sū. 26. 43). Keśava states: "पितृपर्यायागतः क्षेत्रियरोगः कुष्ठक्षयरोगः ग्रहणीदोषः सर्वशरीरस्फोटकारः । "and includes almost all hereditary diseases under the general title Kṣetriya; the scholiast at the Taittirīya Brāhmaṇa II.5.6.1. speaks about it in the same vein—"क्षेत्रियं गर्भस्थानं तत्रोत्पन्नत्वात्"...Sāyaṇa too, by rendering Kṣetriya as "क्षेत्रे परक्षेत्रे पुत्रपौत्रादिशरीरे चिकित्स्यः क्षयकुष्ठादिदोषदूषितपितृमात्रादिशरीरावयवेभ्यः आगतः क्षयकुष्ठापस्मारादिरोगः (II. 8. 1) exhibits the influence of Keśava; and Pāṇini also whose "क्षेत्रियच् परक्षेत्रे चिकित्स्यः" (V.2. 92) is vaguely interpreted by the grammarians as an incurable disease (literally, curable in the next life)[4].

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[3] For the discussion of the words "Sanisrasākṣebhyaḥ and Sandeśebhyaḥ", refer to the note given at the end, p. 10.

[4] The vagueness exhibited by the grammarians in giving many alternative meanings of the word Kṣetriya shows that the real meaning of the word

Among the modern interpreters Weber[5] takes Kṣetriya in the sense of "injury of field or farm"; Jolly[6] calls it a "Chronic disease"; Griffith[7] suggests it to be "pulmonary consumption" while Bloomfield, Whitney and others render it as "Organic disease" "Incurable disease" "Hereditary disease" etc. in a general way.

The Gaṇamālā and the Kauśika Sūtra

The Gaṇamālā (the Atharva Pariśiṣṭa 34) includes the hymns pertaining to this disease under its so-called Takmanāśana Gaṇa,[8] whose main purpose is to bring together the Pratīkas of the hymns dealing with Takman (fever). But it adds to it so many hymns dealing with other diseases including Kṣetriya that, that Gaṇa cannot be relied upon for deciding the character of the disease under discussion.

The last but not the least is the Kauśika Sūtra as our guide in tracing the real nature of the disease. We shall, therefore, try to seek out of its ritualistic practices connected with the hymns of Kṣetriya, something that may be useful to us in our investigation. The practices about the disease rubricating II. 8; II, 10 and III. 7 are given at Kau. Sūt. 26. 41-43 and 27. 1-4. They are as follows:—

उदगातामित्याप्लावयति बहिः । अपेयमिति व्युच्छन्त्याम् ।
वभ्रोरिति मन्त्रोक्तमाकृतिलोष्टवल्मीकौ परिलिख्य जीवकोषण्यासुत्सीव्य बध्नाति ।
नमस्ते लाङ्गलेभ्य इति सीरयोगमधिशिरोऽवसिञ्चति ।
नमः सनिस्रसाक्षेभ्य इति शून्यशालायामप्सु संपातानानयति ।
उत्तरं जरत्खाते सशालातृणे । तस्मिन्नाचामयत्याप्लावयति ॥

"While reciting II 8.1, the priest washes the patient outside the house[9]; reciting II. 8. 2 he washes the patient outside the house at dawn [10]; while reciting II. 8. 3 he pulverizes the plants mentioned in

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was forgotten quite at an early period. But curiously enough we shall seek help from these very varying interpretations of the grammarians in course of this paper.

[5] Weber, Indische Studien V. 145 note; XIII. 149.

[6] Jolly. Ency. of Reli. and Ethics, vol. VI, p. 764.

[7] Griffith, The Hymns of the Atharva Veda I, Intro. to II. 8.

[8] Takmanāśana Gaṇa 26. 1 note in the Kau. Sū. (ed. by Bloomfield) and Gaṇamālā 34. 7.

[9] "Outside the house" expressly to avoid contamination with evil influences.

[10] "Avanakṣatre"—when the stars fade away—Kau. Sū. 27.29; 28. 5; 30.9

the stanza (viz, white-stalked brown barley and sesame blossom) as also natural mud and mud from anthill[11]; sews this up in the skin of an animal freshly slain[12] and fastens it as an amulet upon the patient; while reciting II. 8. 4 he places pole and yoke of a plough over the head of the patient and pours water over it; while reciting II. 8.5 he pours the dregs of ghee into a vessel full of water placed within an empty house;[13] he pours more dregs of ghee into an old ditch[14] into which grass from the thatch of the house has been placed. Placing the patient into the ditch, he gives him of the water to drink and rinses him with it."

Kau. Sū. 27.7-8 :

"क्षेत्रियात्त्वेति चतुष्पथे काम्पीलशकलैः पर्वसु बद्ध्वा पिञ्जूलीभिराप्लावयति" ।

"अवसिञ्चति" ।

"While reciting II.10, the Atharvan priest fastens upon the limbs of the patient who has been placed upon the cross-road,[15] splinters of Kāmpīla wood (Crinum amaryllacee) and washes him with water dipped out by means of a bunch of grass. He sprinkles him in the same way."

Kau. Sū. 27.29-31 :

"हरिणस्येति बन्धनपायनाचमनशङ्कुधानज्वालेनावनक्षत्रेऽवसिञ्चति" ।

"अमितमात्रायाः सकृद्गृहीतान् यवानावपति ।

"भक्तं प्रयच्छति ।"

"While reciting III.7, the Atharvan priest fastens an amulet made from the horn of an antelope upon the patient, gives him water to

---

(Dārila); 31. 28 usually in witchcraft practices; in diseases conceived of as caused by spirits. The instruction is expressly based on III. 7. 7.

"अपवासे नक्षत्राणामपवासमुषसामुत । अपास्मत्सर्वं दुर्भूतमप क्षेत्रियमुच्छतु" ॥

[11] Mud and mud from anthill go together in the Kau. Sū. 25. 7; 26. 43 etc. It is significant that mud from anthill and ants Upajîkā (VI. 100) are used as antidotes in poisoning cases. See Bloomfield, "Seven Hymns of the Atharva Veda, p. 17 ff in the reprint from AJP. VIII.

[12] Skin-bag in witchcraft, AV. VI. 13; Kau. Sū. 48. 32-34.

[13] The use of water in witchcraft practices because the demons cannot cross it. Empty house lends full play to evil spirits.

[14] A natural crack in ground is frequently made the theatre of witchcraft operations. Cf. Kau. Sū. Paribhāṣā at 49. 6.

[15] In all magic performances "Cross-road" figures prominently for it was considered as a suitable place to divest oneself of all evil influences. Cf. Kau. Sū. 27. 7; 30. 18 etc. also Oldenberg, "Die Religion des Veda", p. 267.

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drink, lets him rinse himself with water which has been warmed by quenching in it the kindled piece of antelope's skin pierced by the pegs with which it is fastened (when it is spread out). From a heap of undetermined measure he offers as much barley[16] as can be taken up in the first grasp of the hand. He gives food to the patient.

To Bloomfield the symbolism of these practices is not clear[17] though he admits that (i) the Sūtra has built up these practices to connect the word Kṣetriya with kṣetra (field) rather than in the sense of "womb of a woman"; (ii) the hymns themselves, he has pointed out, are full of references to fields, plants, ploughing, barley, grass, deer and calls upon Kṣetrapati—the Lord of the field; (iii) but the Sūtra, though it has exploited the suggestions supplied by the hymns such as the use of barley and sesame blossoms, horn of an antelope and waters in its symbolic practices, yet it has not clearly brought out in any way, the character of the disease Kṣetriya. (iv) On the other hand there are quite unmistakable signs to be found in these practices, from which we can pretty clearly read the intention of the Sūtra, the trend of thought underlying it. "The washing of the patient outside the house," the use of skin-bag amulet, the mention of the empty house, old ditch, crossroads, barley amulet and last but not the least the reference to the two stars Vicṛtau[18]—all these signs are usually to be found in witchcraft performances in the Kau. Sū. (v) Moreover the Atharvan has included field-kṣetra in its list of Marmāṇi or vital spots where *Kṛtya* or witchcraft was rooted.[19] Hence it is not surprising if the Kau. Sū. has connected the disease Kṣetriya with the injury caused by witchcraft rooted in the Kṣetra (field. Cf. Mūlin or Mūlakṛt)[20]. In the Atharvan, diseases and the demons causing diseases are frequently confused and hostile witchcraft was believed to have been the cause of bringing in diseases or demons of diseases.[21] Even the disease Kṣetriya is connected by the Atharvan with such evil agencies as Sadānvā and Amīvā (II.14.5; III.7.5) and Arāti (enemy, II.10.7) and hence there is no wonder if the Kau. Sū. regarded the disease as caused by them or by the hostile witchcraft and recommended practices that would counteract both the disease and the demon of disease.

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[16] Yava-maṇi-amulet of barley (Kau. Sū. 19. 27; 26. 35) is used against evil eye, danger from Piśācas, Yakṣas etc.

[17] "The practices connected with these hymns are obscure in detail and their application is remote". Bloomfield, SBE. xlii. p 287.

[18] *Vicṛtau*—It is a Vedic name for the twin stars Mūla and Bharaṇî (cf. AV. VI. 110. 2—"जेष्ठघ्न्यां जातो विचृतोर्यमस्य मूलबर्हणात् परिपाहि एनम् These are the two stars in the sting of the scorpion (hence their connection with poison). The presiding deity of the asterism is Nirṛti ("नैर्ऋत्यै मूलबर्हणी" Tai. Brā. I. 5. 10) or Pitaraḥ ("विचृतौ नक्षत्रं पितरो देवता"। Tai. Saṁ. IV. 4. 10). The Kau. Sū. might have connected the Kṣetriya practices with witchcraft for other reasons as well as for the reason of the presiding deity of these stars. With reference to the release from Kṣetriya by the rising of these two stars, Burgess states, "Their healing virtue would doubtless be connected with the meteorological condition of the time at which their heliacal rising takes place". Translation of the Sūryasiddhānta, p. 233.

Kṣetriya and kṣetra

The hymns pertaining to Kṣetriya, as noted before, refer the disease to Kṣetra (field) and the Kau. Sūt., though it has ascribed the cause of the disease to witchcraft, yet with characteristic faithfulness, has connected Kṣetriya with Kṣetra (field). Hence the meaning given by Dārila, Keśava, Sāyana, the commentator of the TB. and the Western scholars who have all connected the disease to Kṣetra (womb) is apt to create a doubt in our mind. All these commentators and interpreters have taken the word Kṣetra in its secondary or metaphorical meaning and rendered Kṣetriya as "a disease derived from the mother's womb". In this connection attention may be drawn to the fact that the Gṛhya Sūtras were the first to twist the meaning of the word Kṣetra. The commentator of the Tai. Brā. II. 5.6.1-3 connects the Kṣetriya stanzas (esp. III. 7) with the Jātakarma ceremony on the authority of the Gṛhya Sūtras (Cf. Bau. Gṛ.Sū.II.1 and 7; Hir. Gṛ. Sū. II. 3.10 ff; Āps. Gṛ. Sū. VI. 15.4) according to which the child is bathed with these stanzas in order to set it free from the diseases derived from the womb of the mother. Thus the Gṛhya Sūtras began using the word Kṣetra in its secondary sense in order to find a suitable rubric for the domestic ritual. Through these Gṛhya and the Dharma Sūtras, the word became popular in that class of literature as a whole. But with every probability during Vedic times, even as far as the Upaniṣads (cf. Chān. Up.VII.24.2) the word was used in its primary sense (viz. field).[23] This naturally makes it impossible for us to accept the suggestion of Prof. Bloomfield that the origin of Kṣetriya is suggested in AV. V. 30.4:—

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[19] AV. V. 31. 4 "क्षेत्रे ते कृत्यां यां चक्रुः..." also VI. 110. 2; IV. 18. 5; X. 1. 4. 18. etc.

[20] Mūlin or Mūlakṛt, IV. 28. 6 etc. is the manipulator of roots. He was probably engaged in digging or burying roots as Kṛtya—a sorcery practice specifically prohibited by the Dharmaśāstra—Viṣṇu XXV. 7; Manu. IX 290. Such sorcerers probably chose "field" for their objectionable practices.

[21] Popular mind readily interprets disease as a manifestation of supernatural ill-will. There too, the Atharvan thought himself beseiged by evil powers which were ready to do harm at every opportunity. Hence we witness the confusion between the cause (evil doers) and the effect (disease). So in the RV. too, a physician is defined as "विप्रः स उच्यते भिषक् रक्षोहामीवचातनः"। X. 97. 6. For details about the Atharvan witchcraft see my paper on that topic in "Nagpur University Historical Society Bulletin", No. 2 (Oct. 1947). pp 16-31.

यदेनसो मातृकृताच्छेषे पितृकृताच्च यत् ।
उन्मोचनप्रमोचने उभे वाचा वदामि ते ॥

Again the hymn itself definitely goes against the meaning of Kṣetriya as a hereditary disease. In II. 8.5.

अपेयं रात्र्युच्छत्वपोच्छन्त्वभिकृत्वरीः ।
वीरुत्क्षेत्रियनाशन्यप क्षेत्रियमुच्छतु ॥

"Let the night pass away, let these attacking women (witches? stars) disappear; let this Kṣetriya destroying plant do away with the disease. "Thus the idea here is that the disease Kṣetriya could be cured by the plant overnight i.e. very soon. And no hereditary disease can be said to be cured overnight.

The hymns themselves, as pointed out, have given a certain vagueness to the disease Kṣetriya, by not only not mentioning the symptoms but also by equating it with the "ties of Varuṇa", 'haters', (druhaḥ), "Curse of woman", (Jāmiśaṁsa), 'Misfortune' (Nirṛti), and Calamity (Durita) (in III.7). Mention of Kṣetriya in plural in II.14.5 also makes it a designation of general application. All this leads us

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22 The term Kṣetra in the sense of woman is popularized by the Dharmaśāstra literature. Cf. Manu (IX, 33) क्षेत्रभूता स्मृता नारी बीजभुतः स्मृतः पुमान् । क्षेत्रबीजसमायोगात् संभवः सर्वदेहिनाम् ॥ The common point between 'field' and 'woman' being ground for sowing seed (Cf. Manu, IX. 36). The word in its primary sense is still current in all the modern Indian languages.

to hold that the Atharvan meant 'some misfortune or injury connected with the field' by the term Kṣetriya. This is already suggested by Weber.

With the help of Pāṇini

Now we want to determine the injury thus caused in the field or farm. For this purpose help should be sought from Pāṇini, the most ancient authority, whose Sūtra on the point is seen to have influenced the later commentators. In V.2.92- "क्षेत्रियच् परक्षेत्रे चिकित्स्यः" Pāṇini has explained the irregular form "Kṣetriyac" in the sense of "parakṣetre cikitsyaḥ" from the word "parakṣetra" (in loc.) with the termination 'ghac' and the elision of 'para'. According to the Mahābhāṣya and later grammarians, the disease Kṣetriya is referred to and explained in this Sūtra. The Mahābhāṣya is not very explicit on the matter; yet *Kaiyaṭa* and *Kāśikā* have variously explained the Kṣetriya vyādhi. The *Kāśikā* gives the following alternative meanings:

i क्षेत्रियं कुष्ठम् । परक्षेत्रं जन्मान्तरशरीरम् । तत्र चिकित्स्यः क्षेत्रियः । असाध्योऽप्रत्याख्येयो व्याधिरुच्यते । नामृतस्य निवर्तते ।

ii अथवा क्षेत्रियं विषम् । यत्परशरीरे संक्रमय्य चिकित्स्यते ।

iii अथवा क्षेत्रियाणि तृणानि । यानि सस्यार्थे क्षेत्रे जातानि चिकित्स्यानि नाशयितव्यानि ।

iv अथवा क्षेत्रियः पारदारिकः । परदाराः परक्षेत्रं तत्र चिकित्स्यः निग्रहीतव्यः । सर्वं चैतत्प्रमाणम् ।

All these meanings of Kṣetriya, says *Kāśikā*, are authoritative.

We may set aside the first and the last of these alternatives as they do not concern us. In them the word Kṣetra is used metaphorically—in the first in its philosophical sense (kṣetra = body)[23] while in the last, the word stands for woman. We may then pause at the second and the third alternatives in which Kṣetriya is understood in the sense of 'poison' and 'grass' respectively. Of these the first meaning cannot be connected with Kṣetriya etymologically or otherwise except through the second. The reasonable meaning of the word Kṣetriya should then be 'poisonous grass (or weeds) in order to keep up the connection with the field (kṣetra). Thus according to the

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[23] Cf. Śvetā. Up V. 3; Nṛsim. Pūr. Up. V. 1; Nṛsim. Utt. Up. 9; Gita. XIII. 1 etc.

Kṣetra in its philosophical sense is from the root √Kṣi = to dwell; Kṣetra means body where the soul dwells.

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Atharvaveda, Kṣetriya or poisonous grass (or weeds) caused injury or brought misfortune which was connected with the field. In the Pāṇinian Sūtra (V. 2.92) also the word has the same meaning; the sūtra then should mean "A disease diagnosed as caused by poisonous grass in the field reserved for grass only (parakṣetre) or belonging to another person (parakṣetre). As poisonous grass (or weeds) was only a cause of disease, no symptoms were given; moreover, the effects of such poisonous grass lasted only for a day. Lastly none of the Saṁhitās of the Āyurveda mentions Kṣetriya as an independent disease.

If Kṣetriya is interpreted as a disease or diseases caused by poisonous grass or weeds or thorny shrubs of the field,

- i the reference to plough, poles and yokes, herbs and salutation to Kṣetrapati become significant;
- ii the use of white stalks of brown barley together with the blossom of sesame also seem purposeful;
- iii the prayer to Vicṛtau—the "twin Looseners "may indicate the rising of the stars synchronous with the weeding season or disappearing of the poisonous parts of the grass or weeds (such as flowers or thorns);
- iv the Pāśas of Kṣetriya (II.8.1;III.7.4) may mean various diseases caused by grass-poisoning as Pāśas of Varuṇa stand for various diseases. The plural of Kṣetriya perhaps refers to these Pāśas.
- v the horns of an antelope and barley[21] would appear to be specific against the diseases caused by grass-poisoning. Their connection with each other and of both with the field is borne out by a number of references in Vedic literature.[25] The Atharvan has used Yava (barley) as a

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[24] Viṣāṇā and yava have their efficacy dependent upon their etymology too=the first from √yu=to separate; and the other from √vi+sā=to unfasten.

[25] AV. II. 8; III. 7; VS. XIII. 30, 31; MS. III. 13. 1; TS. VII, 4. 19. 2; TB. III. 9 7. 2; SB. XIII. 2. 9. 8—all these connect Hariṇa—deer with the eating of Yava—"यद्हरिणो यवमत्ति" ।

A Note on Sanisrasākṣebhyaḥ and Sandeśebhyaḥ

The word Sanisrasākṣebhyaḥ appears only once in the AV. while the term Sandeśebhyaḥ appears thrice in II. 8. 5; IV. 16. 8 and X. 1.11, 12. Hence the clue to the interpretation of Sanisrasākṣya is to be sought by finding out the correct meaning of Sandeśya. The latter term, fortunately, seems to be used universal remedy (VI.91.1) and has employed it against calamity and to confer immortality (VIII.7.20; VIII.2.12; XI.6.15). Mud and mud from anthill employed by the Kau. Sū. (28.1-4) are also seen to have been used by it against poison (31.26). The use of water as panacea is well known in the Atharvan tradition.

All this circumstantial evidence leads us to think that Kṣetriya was a name for a disease or diseases caused by grass-poisoning.

V. W. KARAMBELKAR

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in the same or similar sense in the three places mentioned above. In IV. 16. 8—"यः समाम्यो वरुणो यो व्याम्यो यः सन्देश्यो वरुणो यो विदेश्यऽः । यो दैवो वरुणो यश्च मानुषः according to the context we have the description of the fetters or noose of Varuṇa (which according to the Vedic mythology stands for infliction in the form of diseases). This stanza classifies the Pāśas in two broad classes—those which are Samāmya (bringing uniform diseases), Sandeśya (belonging to the same region) and Daiva (of divine origin). This is one class of the Pāśas of Varuṇa. In the other class come Vyāmya (bringing diverse diseases), Videśya (belonging to various regions) and Mānuṣa (of human origin). Sāyana has not adhered to this meaning of Sandeśya at II. 8. 5, though he himself has given it at IV, 16. 8. At II. 8. 5 he renders the word as 'Old ditches" under the influence of the Kau. Sū. (27.3); and he has not commented upon the third passage (X. 1.11, 12), where the same word occurs. The European and the American scholars also found the word very difficult. They have paraphrased it variously as "of the same region" (Whitney), "Native, Indigenous"(Bloomfield), "who hear and act"(Griffith) without reference to the disease. Bloomfield has gone a step further when he says—"Ludwig and Sāyaṇa erroneously connect them with Āmaya—disease". It may be granted that the terms Samāmya and Vyāmya have no connection with Āmaya yet there cannot be any doubt that these epithets refer to the Pāśas of Varuṇa which in Vedic terminology mean infliction of diseases. Thus at IV. 16. 8; II. 8. 5 and X. 1. 11, 12 some sort of fetters are referred to and this meaning fits in the context excellently well. In this connection it may be pointed out that the disease Kṣetriya has its Pāśas or fetters and they are equated with those of Varuṇa (II. 10. 1). Taking clue from Sandeśya (which means one hundred pāśas of Varuṇa as well as of Kṣetriya we may suggest some meaning to Sanisrasākṣ if a little emendation of the word is allowed. It is almost definite that the word has nothing to do with "Sūnyagṛha" (Sāyaṇa) or "srastākṣya" (Bloomfield) or Sanisrasa (intercalary month AV. V. 6. 4; XI II. 3. 8). But most probably it refers to the spies of Varuṇa who are one thousand (cf. IV. 16. 4) eyed. If the text had given us "Sahassrākṣebhyaḥ or "Sahassrasākṣibhyaḥ" we would have easily connected the disease Kṣetriya with one of the diseases inflicted by Varuṇa on a sinning person found out by his ever watchful spies.

First Muslim Conquest of Lakhnor

Lakhnor figures in the Muslim history of Bengal right from the time of Muḥammad Bakhtayār Khaljī. Dr. N. K. Bhattasali conclusively identified this place with Nagar in Birbhum district. He writes: "Nagar, the old capital and chief town of Birbhum, is still a place of considerable importance, and there is no doubt that it can claim equal antiquity with Lacknauti and Devkot; and undoubtedly, it was the name of this place which was spelt in some copies of the *Ṭabaqāt-i-Nāṣirī* as Naghor and confused in others as Lakhor and (probably in analogy with Lacknauti) Lakhnor[1]." Now, there is hardly any doubt regarding this identification.

But, very loose thinking still prevails among scholars regarding the actual position of Lakhnor vis-a-vis the Muslims. One scholar, Prof. Abdul Majed Khan, following Dr. A. B. M. Habibullah[2], has gone so far as to say. "Before however, leaving Nadiya Bakhtayār established an outpost at Lakhnor (Nagar) in Birbhum to keep watch on both the Senas at Vijayapur and the Orissans at Mandaran, and also to safeguard the line of communications that passed through Rajmahal hills[3]." I have not been able to find any authority in the original sources for this statement. Dr. K. R. Qanungo goes a step further and assumes that it was included in the Muslim territory after Bakhtayār's conquest and speaks of its loss in the early years of Sultan Ghiyathuddīn 'Iwaz Khaljī. He writes: "It was perhaps at this time that Viṣṇu, the valiant minister and general of the Gaṅga Emperor Anaṅgabhīma III (1211-1238 A. D.) invaded the Rāḍhā tract which had been a sort of No Man's Land, *though the Muslim rulers of Lakhnauti claimed Lakhnor in Birbhum as their frontier.* At any rate that frontier post was seized by Viṣṇu who had carved out a frontier-march for himself, south of Rāḍhā, having perhaps Jājpur (Jājnagar) on the Vaitaraṇī river as the seat of his power. This reverse of fortune damped the spirit of the Muslims for a time, and they could not be easily roused to arms by the Sultan. Their religious frenzy had to be stirred anew by *tazkīrs* exhorting "peoples to undertake a *jihād* and exert themselves for the preservation of the dignity of Islam and the Sultan's throne." It is on record that one such *tazkīr* was delivered by one Imāmzādah of Firuzkoh, Jalāl-ud-Dīn son of Jamāluddīn Ghaznavī, in the presence of Sultan Ghyāsuddīn, who bestowed on him in gift a large trayful of gold and silver coins. However, Sultan Ghyāsuddīn made an expedition to recover Lakhnor (Nagar) in c. 1214 A. D., and this campaign proved a protracted one. The Chāteśvara inscription claims success for the Orissan general Viṣṇu who in his "war with the Moon of the Yavana kingdom (undoubtedly alluding to Sultan Ghyāsuddīn 'Iwaz Khiljī)..................... performed heroic deeds that baffle description[4]." The evidence from Chāteśvara inscription, alluded to by Dr. Qanungo, has also been utilized by other scholars, like N. N. Vasu[5], M. M. Chakravarti[6] and Dr. H. C. Ray[7], and all of them make Viṣṇu victorious over Ghiyathuddīn 'Iwaz Khaljī. Only R. D. Banerji[8] and, following him, Prof. Abdul Majed Khan[9] speak of the claim of victory by both Hindu and Muslim sides. We shall take up these points one by one and discuss in their historical perspective.

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[1] *JRAS.*, 1935, pp. 101-2.

[2] *Foundation of Muslim Rule in India*, Lahore, 1945, pp. 74-75.

[3] *Indian Culture*, vol., X, p. 152.

There is little doubt that the region of Lakhnor was under the possession of Lakṣmaṇasena at the time of Bakhtayār's conquest of Nadiya. Lakṣmaṇasena had waged successful wars against the rulers of Orissa during his life time[10]. The Sena inscriptions claim also suzerainty over the Orissan kings. The latest contemporary of Lakṣmaṇasena was Rājarāja III[11]. He is not known to have conquered any new territory. Hence it may be presumed that Lakhnor remained in the hands of the Senas even after the raid of Nadiya.

After this victory Bakhtayār made Lakhnauti his seat of government and brought the neighbourhood under his sway.[12] He stayed there for "some years,"[13] probably to arrange for the administration of the country, and perhaps it was at this time that Ḥusāmuddīn 'Iwaz was given the fief of Gangori, 'Alī Mardān that of Barsul, and Muḥammad Sherān those of Santosh and Moseda.[14] Thereafter we read in the *Ṭabaqāt-i-Nāṣirī* that "the ambition of seizing the country of Turkistan and Tibet began to torment his (Bakhtayār's) brain."[15] On p. 573 we are told: Trustworthy persons have related after this manner, that Muḥammad Sherān and Aḥmad Sherān were two brothers, two among the Khalj Amīrs in the service of Muḥammad Bakhtayār; and when the latter led his troops towards the mountains of Kāmrūd, and Tibet, he had dispatched Muḥammad Sherān and his brother, with a portion of his forces towards Lakhnor and Jājnagar. When the news of these events (i.e. the death or murder of Bakhtayār) reached Muḥammad Sherān, he came back from that quarter, and returned again to Div-kot." This is the only passage where we are told that an expedition was sent to Lakhnor and Jājnagar, and the time is not just after the conquest of Nadiya, but it was before the departure of Bakhtayār for Tibet. There is no question of establishing any outpost at Lakhnor either now or earlier. What was the result of this expedition, we are told nowhere? But, we may safely conjecture that whatever Sena power was left in this part of Bengal was finished. The mention of the name of Jājnagar along with Lakhnor suggests that Muḥammad Sherān probably advanced right upto the border of Jājnagar, i.e., Orissan kingdom. We are nowhere told of any fight or engagement against the Hindu king, nor the Hindu sources tell us of any struggle between Rājarāja III and Muḥammad Sherān. The achievement of this expedition also remains unrecorded. But, the fact that Sherān came back to Devkot on hearing of Bakhtayār's death without making any arrangement for administration of the raided territory shows that his expedition was merely a raid. That Sherān's expedition did not result in any permanent acquisition, is also proved from the fact that he retired to Moseda and Santosh in present Rajshahi district after

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[4] *History of Bengal*, vol. II, ed. by J. N. Sarkar, pp. 21-22

[5] *JASB.*, 1898, p. 322.

[6] *Ibid*, 1903. p. 118,

[7] *Dynastic History of Northern India*, vol. I, p. 478.

[8] *History of Orissa*, vol. I, p. 260.

[9] *Indian Culture*, vol. XI, p. 51.

[10] *History of Bengal*. vol. I, ed. by R. C. Majumdar, p. 258.

[11] *History of Orissa*, vol. I, p. 258.

[12] *Ṭabaqāt-i-Nāṣiri*, Raverty's translation, p. 559.

[13] *Ibid.*, p. 560.

[14] *History of Bengal*, vol. II, ed. by J. N. Sarkar, p. 13, fn. 1.

[15] *Ṭabaqāt-i-Nāṣirī*, Raverty's translation, p. 560.

being ousted from Devkot, and never thought of going to Lakhnor, whither he should have gone if it were in his possession. Therefore, there is no reason to believe that Lakhnor was included in Muslim territory at this time. There is no evidence to show that it was conquered by Ḥusāmuddīn 'Iwaz, or 'Alī Mardān, the successors of Sherān at Devkot. In fact, the Khaljī civil war that broke out after the death of Bakhtayār, was not favourable to any new conquest. Minhāj only speaks of 'Alī Mardān sending his troops to various directions, but, excepting for amassing of tributes, no other tangible result is recorded[16]. The time for conquest came only when Ḥusāmuddīn 'Iwaz united the Khaljīs and crowned himself as an independent ruler under the new name of Ghiyathuddīn 'Iwaz Khaljī.

In the meantime, the condition of South-west Bengal, which had been overrun by Sherān, changed. In 1211 A.D. Rājarāja III was succeeded by his famous son Anaṅgabhīma III.[17] He is known from his inscriptions to have extended his territory in the north as well as in the west. It may be that he took possession of the kingless South-west Bengal, and advanced right upto the border of the Muslim kingdom. On the other hand, Ghiyathuddīn 'Iwaz Khaljī had already rallied the quarrellous Khaljīs under his banner and probably was on his way to further conquest. We do not khow at all as to who was the aggressor. Probably the Gaṅga Rājā and the Muslim Sultan started together for the conquest of the No Man's Land in South west Bengal. There is no justification for Dr. Qanungo's assertion that Lakhnor was first conquered from Muslim hands by the Hindus. We have seen already that it did not form part of the Muslim territory. There is also no doubt that the two armies met and fought each other. The result we shall now study as it is given in the *Ṭabaqāt* and the inscriptions.

Minhāj says that "the neighbouring rulers of Jājnagar, Baṅg, Kāmrūd and Tirhut sent to him (Ghiyathuddīn 'Iwaz) tributes, and (when) the territory of Lakhnor came into his possession, elephants and much treasure fell into his hands, and he posted his own Amīrs in that place[18]". Thus, Minhaj definitely tells that (i) Lakhnor was conquered and occupied by Ghiyathuddīn 'Iwaz, and (ii) he posted his own officers there, i.e., this conquest was not a raid but a permanent acquisition.

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[16] *Tabaqāt-i-Nāṣirī*, Persian text, p. 159.

[17] *History of Orissa*, vol. I, p. 259.

[18] *Ṭabaqāt-i-Nāṣirī*, Persian text, p. 163.

On the other hand the Hindu sources tell a different tale. Two Sanskrit inscriptions throw light on this struggle. The Chāṭeśvara inscription of Anaṅgabhīma III give the following praise to his minister Viṣṇu:-

कर्णोत्त सितसायकस्य सुभटानेकाकिनो निघ्नतः
किं ब्रूमो यवनावनीन्दुसमरे तत्तस्य वीरव्रतम् ।
यस्यालोकनकौतुकव्यसनिनां व्योमाङ्गने नाकिना-
मस्वप्नैरनिमेषवृत्तिभिरभून्नेत्रैर्महानुत्सवः ॥

"What more shall I speak of his (Viṣṇu's) heroism. He alone fought against the Muhammadan king, and applying arrows to his bow, killed many skilful warriors. Even the gods would assemble in the sky to obtain the pleasure of seeing him with their sleepless and fixed eyes[19]".

The second is the Bhuvaneśvara inscription of Narasiṁha II, mentioning the date 1278 A.D., which says:-

यद्वंशे वैजयन्तीपट इव सुभटोऽनङ्गभीमः प्रभाव-
प्रद्ध(ध्व)स्ताराति‌राजव्रजयुवतिजनोद्गीतगम्भीरसारः ।
आसीदासी(शी)विषारेरधिकतरतरस्तादृगर्व्वोरुगर्व्वः
स्वन्ते स्वन्तोपसर्पज्जनमपि ज(य)वनं सङ्गरे सञ्जहार ॥

L. D. Barnett translates. "In his lineage was like a flag the heroic Anaṅkabhīma whose profound strength was celebrated by the damsels of a multitude hostile kings destroyed by (his) might, (and) who was exceedingly proud of (his) similar horses, the speed of which surpassed (that of) the Snake's Foe (Garuḍa). With good fortune he destroyed in battle the Yavana, although he possessed an impetuosity that effectively advanced (to the attack[20])".

The first inscription, which is of Anaṅgabhīma himself, gives the whole credit to his minister Viṣṇu, while the second inscription, which was issued long after his death, bestows the credit upon the Rājā himself. The first inscription speaks only of his वीरव्रत (heroism) shown in यवनावनीन्दुसमरे "in the war against the Moon of Yavana kingdom". This display of heroism is explained in the first pada of the same verse: "(He), applying arrows to his bow, killed many skilful warriors". Nothing is said about the result of the war. The second inscription definitely speaks of destroying "in battle the *Yavana*" the last word probably standing for the Muslim king or his commander. This *Yavana* is praised in these words: "he possessed an impetuosity that effectively advanced (to the attack"). We know from history that G͟hiyat͟huddīn' 'Iwaz K͟haljī was not killed in this battle. Therefore, the word *Yavana* may stand for his commander, or more probably for Musalman warriors who are known from the first inscription to have been killed by Viṣṇu. By comparing the two inscriptions it seems that the second is only an exaggerated version of the first. Any sound scholar, who knows the manner how panegyrics are written in Sanskrit inscriptions, will not jump to conclude that these verses speak of the victory of Anaṅgabhīma III. In fact, the inscriptions speak only of the heroic fight of Viṣṇu, and the loss of lives on the part of the Muslim army. Such claims of heroism can also be allowed to a defeated enemy.

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[19] *JASB.*, 1892, p. 325.
[20] *Ep. Ind.*, vol. XIII, p. 153.

Now, collating the materials from Hindu and Muslim sources, we learn that the inscriptions speak only of the Hindu heroism and death of Muslim warriors, while Minhāj definitely tells us that (i) Lakhnor was conquered and occupied by G͟hiyat͟huddīn, and (ii) he posted his own officers there. We know from history that Muslim officers were thereafter posted there regularly. Therefore, the only reasonable conclusion that we can derive from these sources is that, in spite of heroism, the Hindus were defeated, and G͟hiyat͟huddīn ·Iwaz conquered and annexed Lakhnor.

There is no question of the defeat of the Muslims as was supposed by Dr. H. C. Ray, or even of the claim of victory on both the sides, as was assumed by R. D. Banerji and Abdul Majed Khan. Their conclusion was probably based on Raverty's translation, which runs: "The parts round about the state of Lakhnauti, such as Jājnagar, the countries of Bang, Rāmrūd and Tirhut, all sent tribute to him; and *the whole of that territory named Gaur passed under his control.* He acquired possession of elephants, wealth and tributes to a great amount". (Pp. 587-89). In this translation the words, "territory of Lakhnor", which we find in the printed Persian text, is substituted by "territory of Gaur", and hence the whole meaning is lost. The earlier portion that the neighbouring parts sent tribute to G͟hiyat͟huddīn is merely a traditional praise, and hence could not lead to any definite conclusion Therefore, on the basis of these materials some of the scholars make both sides claim victory, while others credit Anaṅgabhīma with definite victory.

But, Dr. Qanungo realised the better version of the Persian text and hence utilised it in his reconstruction of the history. Even then he failed to realize the significane of the Sanskrit inscriptions. His real mistake was the assumption that Lakhnor was earlier occupied by the Muslims. He says: "Minhaj indirectly corroborates to a certain extent the testimony of Chāṭeśvara inscription by a clear hint that Lakhnor had slipped out of the hands of the Muslims before 'Iwaz cleared it for himself and appointed his own officers there"[21]. This assumption is unwarranted as we have seen before. In order to embellish his argument, Dr. Qanungo has brought in the question of *Taẓkīr*, which Imāmzādah of Firuzkoh delivered at Lakhnauti, and interpreted it as an exhortation for *jihād* and stimulation of the war spirit of the Muslims, damped on account of the reverse experienced against Orissan kings. That this whole interpretation is sheer misrepresentation will be clear from the trend of history that we have traced. Dr. Qanungo quotes Hodivala as his authority for this interpretation. Hodivala[22], says: "Tazkir does not mean 'eulogistic speech or commemorative ode or speech', as Dowson states, but religious discourse or sermon, a 'serious call' or exhortation to lead a holy life in accordance with the precepts of Islam and to sacrifice it for the Faith". Further on, he quotes from Gibb's *Ibn Batuta*, introduction p. 33, that *jihad*, in the early days of Islam, was also an obligation of same degree as prayer and fasting, and then he quotes from the *Ṭabaqāt-i-Nāṣirī*, p. 310 of the Persian text. There Minhaj says, "this suppliant (i.e., referring to himself), by command, delivered an exhortation (*tazkīr*), with the object of (Mqṣūd būd) stimulating to holy war and the merit of fighting against infidels, and efforts to defend the glories of Islam, and serve the sublime court, by obeying the orders of the legitimate commanders. "This *tazkīr* was given on 10th Muḥarram, 655 A.H. "within the tent of the sovereignty", when the Muslim army was on march against the Mongol invaders. In this hour of struggle

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[21] *History of Bengal*, vol. II, ed. by J. N. Sarkar, p. 22, fn. 1.

[22] *Studies in Indo-Moslem History*, p. 211.

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the *tazkīr* of this kind is understandable. Minhāj himself has clarified the meaning by using the words *Mqṣūd būd* (with the object of). The explicit mention of these words prove that there were other meanings of the word *tazkīr*, as is given by Hodivala himself. We have to understand the context and the purpose where the word is used. That purpose is clear, if we read the context in which Imāmzādah of Firuzkoh delivered his *tazkīr*. He was well-known for his piety and learning, and in order to give a discourse on this religious subject he came to Lakhnauti. He delivered his *tazkīr* in the "audience hall" (*darbār gāh*) of Ghiyathuddīn 'Iwaz[a], for which he was given large amount of presents[23]. This discourse was given in the usual course of his itinerary, as the famous Imams do, whenever they go to other places. There is no comparison at all between this sermon and the one delivered by Minhaj. The two contexts are different, and the meanings also differ.

To conclude, Lakhnor was for the first time conquered and annexed by Muslims in the time of Ghiyathuddīn 'Iwaz Khaljī.

AHMAD HASAN DANI

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[23] *Tabaqāt-i-Nāṣiri*, Persian text, p. 162.

Origin of Nasir-ud-din Khusrau Shah of Delhi

Nasir-ud-din Khusrau Shah who succeeded Qutub-ud-din Mubarak Khalji on April 27, 1320 and ruled upto 5th September, 1320 was the only Indian Muslim to sit on the throne of Delhi during the period known as the Sultanate of Delhi (1206-1526 A.D.). The most baffling problem about him is his origin. It is, however, certain that he was originally a Hindu from Gujarat and had fallen into the hands of Ain-ul-mulk Multani during the latter's campaign in Malwa in 1305. He was converted to Islam and given the name of Hasan. He was enrolled as an attendant in the service of Sultan Alauddin Khalji and placed in the custody of Malik Shadi, Deputy Hajib at the Court.[1] Regarding the caste to which he originally belonged contemporary writers have given three versions, namely Barado (برادو), Barao (براو) and Barwar (بروار), which seem to be variants of one and the same word. Amir Khusrau in his celebrated work entitled Tughluqnama calls Hasan 'Barado';[2] Isami says that he was originally a 'Barao'[3], and Zia-ud-din Barani describes him as a Barwar.[4] Later writers have simply adopted one or the other of the last two variants; some understood their meanings and while others did not. For example, *Tarikh-i-Mubarakshahi* has Barao;[5] *Tabqat-i-Akbari* has Barao,[6] *Muntakhab-ut-tawarikh* has Barwar,[7] and Ferishta has Parwar[8]—no doubt a mistake for Barwar.[8] The Medieval chroniclers further describe Hasan as a man of a low caste from Gujarat whose members enjoyed a good reputation as dauntless fighters.[9] But as he was an Indian Muslim and had the audacity to slay Qutub-ud-din

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1 Barani's *Tarikh-i-Firozshahi*, Persian Text, p. 381.

2 *Aurangabad Text*, p. 19.

3 *Futuh-us-Salatin*, Agra Text, p. 362, has parao, which is no doubt the scribe's error who has placed three dots instead of one.

4 *Tarikh-i-Firozshahi*. Persian Text, Bibliotheca Indica, Calcutta, p. 490.

5 *Tarikh-i-Mubarakshahi*, p. 85.

6 *Tabqat-i-Akbari*. vol. I p. 175.

7 *Muntakhab-ut-Tawarikh*, vol. I, p 203.

8 *Ferishta*, p. 124.

9 *Tughluqnama*, p. 19: Barani, p. 519; *Ibn Battutah*, vol. III, p. 198 *Ferishta*, p. 124.

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Mubarak and capture the throne of Delhi, which had hitherto been the monopoly of foreign Turks from Central Asia, the chroniclers who belonged to the foreign Muslim stock and were of the clerical profession heaped upon him vile epithets, such as base, low-born, ungrateful, faithless and cunning. Misled by these unwarranted expressions and wrongly assuming that Barwar must be the same as modern 'Parwar' or 'Parwari', some European historians have jumped to the conclusion that Hasan *alias* Khusrau Shah was a Parwari or despised scavenger whose touch was a pollution to high caste Hindus. Briggs, the translator of *Ferishta*, was the first to observe: "The Parwary is a Hindu outcast, who eats flesh of all kinds, and is deemed so unclean as not to be admitted to build a house within the town."[10] As Molesworth defined 'Parwari' as an individual of low caste, chiefly employed as village watchmen, gate-keepers, porters, and said to be synonymous with Dhed and Mahar",[11] Edward Thomas, another notable writer, endorsed Brigg's conclusion.[12] Sir Wolseley Haig, the latest European authority on the subject, has expressed himself even more strongly: "The wretch (Khusrau), "he writes, "was by origin a member of one of those castes whose touch is pollution to a Hindu, whose occupation is that of scavengers, and whose food consists of the carrion which it is their duty to remove from byre and field."[13] Among modern Indian writers who have fallen in line with the above European scholars the names of Dr. Ishwari Prasad and Dr. Mahdi Husain may be especially mentioned. Nasir-ud-din Khusrau's origin was one of the first controversies that Dr. Prasad was called upon to resolve in his D. Litt thesis, entitled 'The Qaraunah Turks in India'. He discussed it in a long foot-note of over 840 words and ended by accepting Brigg's views in their entirety. (Vide *Qaraunah Turks in India*, vol. I pp. 8-11, fn. 21). He has been as bitter against Khusrau as any medieval writer, calling him outcast, unclean, parwari whom every one hated and despised. Dr. Mehdi Husain opined that "Barwar is probably a misprint of Parwar" (Vide *Rise and Fall of Muhammad Bin Tu-*

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[10] Brigg's *Ferishta*, Vol. I, p. 387n.

[11] Molesworth's *Marathi-English Dictionary*, 2nd, edition, p. 492.

[12] *Chronicles of the Pathan Kings of Delhi*, p. 184n.

[13] *Cambridge History of India*, vol. III, p. 120.

ghluq, p. 28n), and hence endorsed the conclusion of Briggs and Wolseley Haig.

There is, on the other hand, another school of European historians who do not attach any value to the foul abuse of the Muslim chroniclers, and are of the opinion that Khusrau Shah was a Parmar Rajput. For example, James Bird who translated *Mirat-i-Ahmadi* into English under the title of "History of Gujarat" says that *Parwar* is nothing else than *Parmar*.[14] He is supported by Bayley[15] and Talboys Wheeler.[16] The main arguments are that (a) 'Parmar' has been misread as 'Parwar' by Briggs, and that (b) Khusrau Shah could not have belonged to a depressed caste as he and his castemen were noted for their bravery and martial talent, and in disregard of personal danger had taken valiant parts in a number of battles, and successfully managed the affairs of an empire, which it was not possible for scavengers to do.

Both these theories are based on mere guess or argumentation and are, therefore, untenable. In the first place, 'Pramar' or 'Parmar' in Arabic script cannot be read as 'Parwar', as one is written with 'م' and the other with 'و'. It is inconceivable that all the scribes and editors of nearly a dozen Persian works from Barani to Ferishta should have committed such a gross error in spelling, and that it would have gone undetected by the modern Persian knowing historians. Secondly, had Khusrau Shah really been a Pramar, he would have been like the Sisodias, the Rathors and the Kachwahas, designated by the general term 'Rajput' with which the medieval Muslim writers were so intimately familiar. At any rate, he would not have been dubbed a low caste Hindu. It is too much to suppose that all the medieval Indian historians from Amir Khusrau to Ferishta were ignorant of "the intricate and obscure nomenclature of Hindu tribes and castes", as the late Professor Hodivala[17] has attempted to argue; and as we shall presently see, there is no doubt that at least Amir Khusrau, Barani, Nizam-ud-din Ahmad and Badauni were acquainted with the caste to which Khusrau Shah originally belonged. And finally the names of Khusrau Shah's relatives who were Hindus, such as, Jaharia and Randhol (not Ramdhol as Professor Sri Ram Sharma wrongly supposes) are suggestive of a low origin and certainly not of Pramar or any other high caste among the Hindus[18].

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[14] *History of Gujarat*, p. 167.

[15] *Local Muhammadan Dynasties*, Gujarat, p. 41n.

[16] *History of India from the Earliest Age*, vol. IV, part I, p. 68.

[17] *Studies in Indo-Muslim History*, p. 370.

Nor does the theory of Khusrau Shah's 'Bhangi' origin stand the test of historical criticism. Firstly, medieval authorities describe him as a man of low caste, but not one of them says that he or his ancestors belonged to the scavenger caste. This theory owes its origin to the fertile imagination of Briggs who has been unsuspectingly followed by some other European writers. Secondly, in Gujarat to which Khusrau Shah and his caste fellows belonged and to which province they fled after their defeat at the hands of Ghazi Tughluq in 1320 A.D., scavengers are not called Parwaris—the term which Briggs and Edward Thomas sought to identify with Barwar or Parwar—and the Gujaratis do not recognise it as a synonym of Dhed or Mahar. Thirdly, all authorities, contemporary and later, maintain that Khusrau Shah and his caste-men were brave warriors and that some of them were well-to-do men of standing and reputation in the country. Scavengers who are a down-trodden people never enjoyed any reputation for courage in war and administration.

In spite of these obvious difficulties the present writer is unable to agree with Professor Hodivala, Dr. K. S. Lal and Professor Sri Ram Sharma that "the real name of the tribe or caste to which Khusrau belonged *is not known and cannot be ascertained*."[19] Any first-rate scholar of medieval Indian History acquainted with contemporary sources in original Persian will readily concede that the various terms used by our authorities to denote Khusrau's caste are the variants of one and the same word, namely 'Barwar' which is employed by his exact contemporary Zia-ud-din Barani whenever he refers to Khusrau's origin. It is equally certain that Barwar (بروار) of Barani and other first-rate Persian chroniclers is nothing else but Bharwar (بهروار) or Bharvad (بهرواڈ), all the three of which are written almost identically in Arabic script, and in Persian *Shikast* (cursive writing of MSS) they look absolutely alike and can be easily confounded. According to a standard Gujarati dictionary Bharvad or Bharvar means a shepherd,[20] and Bharvads abound in Gujarat, the home-province of Khusrau, and many of them were then, as now, well-to-do people and engaged in sheep-farming and agriculture. The shepherd is not a high caste among the Hindus; nor is it as low as 'Chamar', 'Dhanuk', 'Pasi' or 'Bhangi' (Scavenger). In social status Bharvad or gadaria (as he is called in Uttar Pradesh) is on par with 'Ahir', 'Kurmi' and 'Lodha', and is very hardy and brave. On account of these qualities Bharvads were employed by nobles and kings as attendants, gate-keepers, personal servants and troops. Nizam-ud-din Ahmad is right when he says that Bharvads were employed as household servants and were found in plenty in Gujarat.[21] Yahaya is equally right in describing Khusrau a *pasban* or gate-keeper,[22] and Ferishta in designating him as one of the *pahalwans* or wrestlers of Gujarat.[23] It is thus certain that Nasir-ud-din Khusrau Shah belonged originally to the shepherd or Bharvad caste of Gujarat.

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[18] *Barani* in Elliot and Dowson, vol. III, p. 222; and *Tabqat-i-Akbari* vol. I, p. 187.

[19] *Studies in Indo-Muslim History*, p. 369; *History of the Khaljis*, p. 351; Nasir-ud-din Khusrau Shah in *Indian Historical Quarterly*, 1950.

Professor Sri Ram Sharma has recently added to the complexity of the problem by propounding yet another theory, namely that Khusrau Shah on his accession repudiated Islam and attempted to re-establish Hindu domination in the country, though he did not assume for himself Hindu name and title. "It is but natural", writes Professor Sharma, "that on his accession to the throne he should go back to his original faith. He lived in the royal palace of his predecessors, and with the accession of a Hindu king, Hindu rites of worship displaced Muslim rites in the palace. Like Ajit Singh of Jodhpur in the eighteenth century, Khusrau did not take a Hindu title as a reigning king[24]...This view is not based on any contemporary or even later record and betrays a desire to read in the Persian texts more than what their authors intended to convey. No writer from Amir Khusrau down to Ferishta anywhere says definitely or even by implication that Khusrau Shah had forsaken Islam or that he wanted to set up a Hindu Raj. On the contrary, the historian Nizam-ud-din Ahmad writes in clear terms that "As most of the Bharwars were Hindus, are suggestive of a low origin and certainly not of Pramar or any other high caste among the Hindus[18].

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[20] *Jodnikosh of Shri D. B. Kalekar*, published by Gujarat Vidyapitha.

[21] *Tabqat-i-Akbari*, vol. I, p. 176.

[22] *Tarikh-i-Mubarakshahi* p. 82.

[23] *Ferishta*, vol. I, p. 124.

[24] Vide his paper referred to earlier.

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[22] *Tarikh-i-Mubarakshahi* p. 82.

[23] *Ferishta*, vol. I, p. 124.

[24] Vide his paper referred to earlier.

Islamic ways received a set-back and the rites of the Hindus got encouragement and propagation. Idol worship was publicised and the mosques were desecrated.''[25] This categorical evidence knocks the bottom out of Professor Sharma's theory and proves conclusively that Khusrau Shah remained a Muslim as before, and the Hindu worship in the palace was conducted by those of his relatives who were Hindu by faith.

A. L. SRIVASTAVA

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[25] *Tabqat-i-Akbari*, Vol. I, p, 187.

Rāṇā Udayasiṁha and the Sūr Emperors of Delhi

The story is well known to all students of the history of Rājasthān as to how the dutiful nurse Pānnā saved the life of Udayasiṁha, a younger son of Rāṇā Saṁgrāmasiṁha (Sāṁgā), after the murder of Rāṇā Vikramāditya (Vikramājit) by Vanavīra, how Vanavīra occupied the Guhilot throne of Chitoṛ while Udayasiṁha lived incognito at Kumbhalgaṛh, and how Udayasiṁha ultimately recovered the throne of his ancestors.[1] G.H. Ojha assigns the following dates to these events: (1) V.S. 1593 (1536 A.D.)—murder of Vikramāditya and accession of Vanavīra; (2) V.S. 1594 (1537 A.D.)—Udayasiṁha's recognition as the Rāṇā of Mewāṛ, by the feudatories at Kumbhalgaṛh, at the age of 15; and (3) V.S. 1597 (1540 A.D.)—occupation of Chitoṛ by Udayasiṁha. In 1567 A.D., during Udayasiṁha's reign, the Mughal emperor Akbar conquered Chitoṛ, the old capital of Mewāṛ, and the area around it, and the Rāṇā took shelter in the hilly regions of his dominions. He died in V.S. 1628 (1572 A.D.) and was succeeded by his valiant son Pratāpasiṁha. Rāṇā Udayasiṁha was thus a contemporary of all the monarchs of the Sūr dynasty which flourished at Delhi in 1539-56 A.D. But nothing is as yet definitely known as regards the Rāṇā's relations with the Sūrs.

The Sūr dynasty was founded by the great Sher Shāh (1539-45 A.D.). The only other ruler of any importance in this dynasty was his son and successor Islām Shāh (1545-54 A.D.) whose name, "corrupted by some historians, by the figure known as *imāla*, into Islīm Shāh and again into Salīm Shāh", is correctly given in his coin legends.[2]

As will be seen below, according to the Muslim historians, Sher Shāh occupied Chitoṛ sometime in 1543 or 1544 A.D., although they are silent as to whether the Rāṇā offered his allegiance to the Sūr emperor or continued to rule in parts of Mewāṛ outside the Chitoṛ region as an independent ruler. There is no reference to the Sūr occupation of Chitoṛ in the work of Tod who mainly relied on the Rājput chronicles. While briefly describing Sher Shāh's campaigns in Rājputānā against the powerful Rāṭhoṛ king, Māladeva, of Jodhpur, Wolseley Haig says, "He (Sher Shāh) left Khavāss Khān and 'Īsā Khān Niyāzī to establish his authority in Mārwār and marched to Chitor, the keys of which were sent to him by the officer who held it on behalf of Rāṇā Uday Singh of Mewar".[3] K.R. Qanungo observes, "He (Sher Shāh) spent a few months at Agra and rejoined his camp at Ajmir about the middle of June 1544. From Ajmir he marched towards Chitor which he easily acquired.........Mewar had not yet recovered from the evil effects of the civil dissensions which ended with the installation of the boy king Udai Singh in 1542 A.D. (see Tod's *Rajasthan*, pp. 330-333). Chitor was placed in charge of Shams Khan, a brother of Khawas Khan (Dorn's *History of the Afghans*, p. 140), Mian Ahmad Sarwani and Husain Khan Khilji (Abbas MS., p. 235)".[4]

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[1] J. Tod, *Annals and Antiquities of Rajasthan*, Calcutta edition vol. I, pp. 334 ff.; G. H. Ojha, *Udaypur Rājyakā Itihās* (*Rājputānekā Itihās*, vol. I), pp. 713 ff.

[2] *Cambridge History of India*, vol. IV, p. 58.

Ojha quotes Abbas Sarwānī's *Tārīkh i-Sher Shāhī*[5], according to which Sher Shāh advanced against Chitoṛ in A.H. 950 (1543 A.D.) after having dispersed Māladeva's forces: "Sher Shāh......marched towards the fort of Chitor. When he was yet 12 *Kos* from the fort of Chitor, the Rājā who was its ruler sent him the keys. When Sher Shāh came to Chitor, he left in it the younger brother of Khawās Khān, Mīān Ahmad Sarwānī and Hussain Khān Khiljī. Sher Shāh himself marched towards Kachwara." But the author of the *Udaypur Rājyakā Itihās* observes, "It was almost the beginning of Udayasiṁha's reign. Thus it is possible that Udayasiṁha considered it unwise to fight with Sher Shāh and managed to send him away after making peace with him. Neither the Persian histories nor the local chronicles explain, as is expected in such a case, how Chitoṛ came back into Udayasiṁha's possession (if it had been occupied by the Sūrs)."[6] N. B. Roy who has dealt with the history of Sher Shāh's successors[7] does not suggest that any of them had anything to do with Mewāṛ. Recently I had occasion to examine a piece of evidence suggesting that Rāṇā Udayasiṁha of Mewāṛ not only acknowledged the suzerainty of Sher Shāh but even continued his allegiance to the Sūr dynasty down to the early years of the reign of Islām Shāh, son and successor of that monarch.

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[3] *Cambridge History of India*, vol. IV, p. 55.

[4] *Sher Shah*, pp. 332-33.

[5] Elliot and Dowson, *History of India as told by its own Historians*, vol. IV, p. 406.

[6] *Op. cit.*, p. 718,

[7] *Successors of Sher Shāh*. Dacca, 1934.

About the end of the year 1952 and the beginning of 1953, I was travelling in certain parts of Madhya Bhārat and Rājasthān in search of inscriptions. In that connection I visited Jaipur in January 1953. There are no inscriptions among the exhibits of the Jaipur Museum; but I was allowed to examine some of the old impressions of epigraphic records, which are preserved in that Museum. For this, I am thankful to Dr. S. P. Srivastava, Chief Superintendent of Archaeology and Museums, Rājasthān, who is in charge of the institution. Amongst the impressions which I received from Dr. Srivastava for examination, one reveals the existence of a medieval stone inscription in 17 lines. From a note on the impression itself it is learnt that the epigraph was found on a step-well called Ganesh Bāorī at Toda Raisingh. As I am informed by Dr. Srivastava and Mr. U. C. Bhattacharya of the Rājputānā Museum, Ajmer, Toda Raising lies within the boundaries of the present Jaipur District (old Jaipur State) of Rājasthān, not far from Baghera in the Ajmer State. Mr. Bhattacharya also drew my attention to Cunningham's *Archaeological Survey of India Reports*, vol. VI, pp. 124-32, for the history and antiquities of this place and to D. R. Sahni's *Archaeological Remains and Excavations at Sambhar*, pp. 8-9, for brief notices of the inscriptions that were found there. The inscription under discussion was known to Sahni who however failed to realise its importance.

The inscription bears the date: Vikrama Saṁvat 1604 and Śaka 1469, Mārgaśīrṣa-badi 2. The date falls in November 1547 A.D. It is stated that on the said date three rulers were associated with the locality where the well bearing the inscription under notice now stands. The first of these was Rājā Rāmachandra Rāva who was the son of Rājā Pṛthvīrāja and the grandson of Rājā Sūryaseṇi also called *Rājādhirāja*. Rājā Rāmachandra Rāva, whose son, *Kumāra* Paraśurāma, is also mentioned in the record, was apparently the feudatory chief in whose territory the locality where the well had been excavated was situated. The inscription next mentions *Pātisāha* Asalema Sāhi (i.e. the emperor Islām Shāh; cf. the form *Islīm*) who is described as a

Sārvabhauma monarch and as the son of *Pātisāha* Sera Sāhi Sūra (i.e. the emperor Sher Shāh Sūr). Then follows the mention of Rāṇā Udayasiṁhadeva who is described as the son of Rājā Saṅgrāmadeva and as the ruler of the Kumbhalamera *rājya*. It is clear that Rājā Rāmachandra Rāva was a subordinate chief under Rāṇā Udayasiṁha of Kumbhalmera while the latter owed allegiance to the Sūr emperor Islām Shāh.

The date of the record shows that Rāṇā Udayasiṁha acknowledged the suzerainty of the Sūr dynasty at least till the close of the year 1547 A.D. It seems therefore that the Rāṇā offered allegiance to Sher Shāh in 1543 or 1544 A.D. and that he continued to rule as a feudatory of the Sūrs for some years even after Sher Shāh's death and Islām Shāh's accession to the throne. There is no reason to believe that Islām Shāh himself subdued Udayasiṁha.

The mention of Rāṇā Udayasiṁha as the ruler of the kingdom of Kumbhalmera seems to suggest that he was staying at Kumbhalgaṛh till the end of 1547 A.D. while the fort of Chitoṛ continued to be in the possession of the Afghan governors employed by the Sūr emperors. Apparently the presence of a strong Afghan garrison at Chitoṛ prevented Udayasiṁha from throwing off the Sūr yoke. When exactly the Rāṇā succeeded in freeing himself from the domination of the Sūrs cannot be determined in the present state of our knowledge.

When the celebrated Afghan general Khawās Khān took refuge in the hills of Kumāūn, Islām Shāh is stated to have recorded a solemn oath that he had forgiven all his past offences and begged him to attend at Court and proceed against the Rāṇā of Udaypur who had again raised his head, plundered several of the royal possessions and carried off the wives and daughters of Muslims, as none of the nobles had succeeded in their measures against the Rāṇā; at the same time however orders were sent to the governor of Sambhal to put the General to death as soon as he should come within reach.[8] This took place in A.H. 959, corresponding to 1551 A.D., according to some authorities[9]. Rāṇā Udayasiṁha thus seems to have thrown off his allegiance to the Sūrs before the date of Khawās Khān's murder[10]. The reference to the Sūr territory which was plundered by the Rāṇā and from where Muslim women were carried away seems to point to the reoccupation of Chitor by the Guhilot ruler. The use of the word "again" in connection with the Rāṇā's rebellion may suggest that one of his earlier revolts was suppressed by the Sūrs before the date of Islām Shāh's letter to Khawās Khān.

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[8] Cf. *Cambridge History of India, op. cit.*, p. 59; Roy, *op cit.*, p. 33; Elliot and Dowson, *op cit.*, pp. 531.

[9] Cf. Badāūni's *Muntakhab-ut-Tawārikh*, Ranking's trans., vol. I, pp. 525-26.

Sher Shāh's policy and achievements in Rājputānā have been summed up by Qanungo in the following words: "In Rajputana Sher Shah made no attempt to uproot the local chiefs or to reduce them to thorough subjection.........He did not aim at the complete subversion of their independence···Sher Shah was content with holding all the important stations and lines of communication in that country, which could make his authority felt in the various States and enable him to concentrate his troops against any of them in case of emergency...The possession of Chitor was essential to the formation of the quadrilateral (formed by the fortresses of Ajmir, Jodhpur, Mount Abu and Chitor) designed for isolating the principal Rajput States from one another and especially for preventing the irruption of the Rathors from their retreat at Siwana" (*op. cit.*, pp. 333-34). The author does not clearly state whether any of the Rājput rulers acknowledged the suzerainty of the Sūr emperor. Moreover we have little information from the Muslim historians as to how long the Sūrs succeeded in maintaining the position gained in Rājputānā by the founder of their house. Roy's work is totally silent on this point.

Tod does not give any information regarding the recovery of the Jodhpur region by Māladeva from the Afghans (*op. cit.*, vol. II, p. 30). But B. N. Reu in his *Mārwārkā Itihās*, Vol. I, pp. 131-32, gives the following facts: Sher Shāh occupied the Jodhpur region of Mārwār in 1544 A.D. and left Khawās Khān at Jodhpur as his viceroy; the Sūr occupation of parts of Mārwāṛ lasted only for about one year and a half; Māladeva (1532-62 A.D.) drove out the Afghans from Jodhpur before the end of V.S. 1603 (1546 A.D.). Unfortunately no authority has been cited in support of the last statement. Whether Rāṇā Udayasiṁha helped the Rāṭhoṛs in ousting the Afghans from Jodhpur is difficult to determine, although that is not improbable. But the Rāṇā does not appear to have continued his allegiance to the Sūrs for any considerable length of time after the expulsion of the Afghans from Mārwāṛ. This is possibly suggested by the prominent mention of the Rāṇā's aggression in Islām Shāh's communication to Khawās Khān, which does not speak of Māladeva, often described in Muslim sources as the most powerful ruler in Rājputānā. Thus the date of the Rāṭhoṛ success against the Afghans at Jodhpur may actually be a little later than that suggested by Reu.

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[10] The date of Khawās Khān's murder is sometimes given as 1546 A. D. (cf. *Cambridge History of India*, *op. cit.*, p. 59) and 1550 A. D. = A. H. 957 (Elliot and Dowson, *op. cit.*, p. 532, note 1). The first of the two dates is however impossible unless it is believed that the hostility attributed to the Rāṇā in Islām Shāh's communication to Khawās Khān was a mere bluff. But the probability is that the Rāṇā's revolt and act of aggression were widely known facts. Our inscription shows that Rāṇā Udayasiṁha did not shake off his allegiance to Islām Shāh before the end of 1547 A. D.

Reu also refers to the existence of Khawās Khān's tomb, now called Khāsgā Pīr's Dargah, at Jodhpur (*op. cit.*, p. 132, note 3). This possibly suggests that Jodhpur was under Muslim occupation till the time of the death of Khawās Khān.

The inscription throws welcome light on the extent of Udayasiṁha's dominions. Cunningham says, 'Thoda was originally founded by the Dhoda or Dhorè tribe from whom the present name of the place, Thoda or Thorè, is said to be derived. Thoda next came into the possesssion of the Solankis, under Siddha Rai Solanki, in Samvat 1131...Thoda passed out of the hands of the Solankīs in Samvat 1360 when it was taken by the Cohāns—probably in the time of Hara Rājā Cohān who founded Bundī. On the extension of the power of the Kacchwāhas of Amber, they took Thoda from the Cohāns and held it for some years. The possession of Thoda was next made over to the Sisodias by one of the Mughal emperors of Delhi' (*op. cit.*, p. 126). The first of these Sisodia rulers of Toda Raising was Raising (Rāyasiṁha) whose name the place now bears. But it will be seen that the bardic traditions, on which Cunningham relied, have nothing to say about the inclusion of Toda in the dominions of the Rāṇās of Mewāṛ. The fact that the ruler of Toda acknowledged the supremacy of Rāṇā Udayasiṁha in 1547 A.D. is thus very interesting. It shows that the bardic traditions are defective as a source of history.

D. C. SIRCAR

Early Rulers of Mewar and their Fights with the Arabs*

7. *Bāppā's son and successor Khummān I: His fight with the Arabs*

Bāppā's son and successor, according to the genealogy of the Aitpur record, was Khummān I who ascended the throne of Mewar in 754 A.D. He was, therefore, undoubtedly a contemporary of Pratihāra Nāgabhaṭṭa I of Bhinmāl whose known date is 756 A.D. and of Cāhamān Rājā Guvaka I, the successor of Durlabha I or Doolā Rāi of Sāmbhar. No detailed information of Khummān I's reign is as yet available except that after his accession he had to fight, as the bards mention, against a foreign army,[51] most probably the Arabs, from Sindh who entering Rajputana seems to have faced a coalition of the Rājput Rājās of the vicinity. No serious attempt has ever been made to examine the truth of these traditional assertions about this Arab invasion. Scholars[52] attribute these events to have taken place in the reign of Khummān II (813 A.D. to 830 A.D.), who was the fifth in descent from Bāppā. As the Rajput sources and the Muslim chronicles are confused and very meagre in information, it is difficult to ascertain the details of this event. A critical examination of the Indian records and the accounts of the Arab writers, nevertheless, establishes that the Arabs had led one more expedition to western India about the middle of the 8th century some time between 754 A.D. and 758 A.D. Khummān I and his contemporaries Gūvaka I and Nāgabhaṭṭa I (756 A.D.) must have fought and routed the raiders.

Rāj Śekhar Suri, the Jain author of the *Prabandhakoṣa*,[53] a work composed in 1348 A.D., in describing the genealogy of the kings of the Cāhaman family of Śākambhari refers to a Muslim invasion of that kingdom in the time of Govind Rāj. The sixth king of this line counting from Vasudeva, who ruled in Saṁvat 608 was Govind

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* Continued from p. 331 of vol. XXIX, No. 4.

[51] *Tod*: vol I, pp. 184-96.

[52] Ojha, *His. of Raj.*, vol. I pp. 420 and 422-24; D. C. Ganguli, Article on 'A forgotten Moslem invasion' in the Proceedings of Indian History Congress 1938, p. 183.

[53] *Report on Sanskrit Mss. in Southern India*, by Hultzsch, No. III, p. 114.

Rāj and the thirteenth king was Gaṅdu who according to Rāj Sekhar defeated Sultan Mahmud. Gaṅdu is identified with Govind Rāj II whose father or brother Durlabhraj was ruling in 999 A.D. As there were only two kings of the name Govindraj in this branch of the Cāhamans, Govindraj mentioned as the sixth king of this branch in *Prabandhakoṣa* is to be identified with Govindraj I also known as Gūvaka I, as '*Pṛthvirājvijaya Mahākāvya*[54] a more reliable source for the genealogy of the Cāhaman kings clearly mentions that Govindraj was the son and successor of Durlabha I. Govindraj I *alias* Gūvaka I was a feudatory of the Gurjara Pratihara Nāgabhaṭṭa I (756 A.D.) as is evident from the fact that in the Hansot Copper plate he is reported to have obtained the title of 'Vīra' for his bravery at the court of Nāgavaloka or Nāgabhaṭṭa I.[55] The *Prabandhakoṣa* states that Govindraj I defeated the Sultan Vega Vārisa. Though the *Prabandhakoṣa* is a work of later date and fails to record the correct name of Govind-Raja's muslim adversary, yet its reference to an Arab invasion relates to an actual occurrence which finds corroboration in a passage of *Biläduri* in *Fatuhal Baldān*[56] which runs as follows:—

'The Kalifa al-Mansur (754-775 A. D.) sent to Sindh Hasham, son of Amru-al-Taghlabi, and he reduced those places which still held out. He sent Amru son of Jamāl in boats to Narand. He also sent a force to the territories of 'Hind'; subdued Kashmir (not the present Kashmir but parts of the Punjab) and took many prisoners and slaves. He went to Kāndāhār in boats and conquered it. He destroyed the 'budd' there and built in its place a mosque."

Commenting on these lines the learned editor of the third volume of *Cambridge History of India* further informs that Hasham also reduced Multan and captured Qandāil, which might be identified with Zihri in Baluchistan about 57 miles south west of Gandava; and Kandhāro on the south western border of the present Bahāwalpur state. He is also reported to have sent a naval expedition to Gujrat under the command of Umar bin Jamal but he returned unsuccessful after a discomfiture. At last Hasham himself proceeded to Broach and captured

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[54] *Prithvirājvijay Mahākāvya*, ed. by Ojha and Guléri, p. 105, verse 20 of Sarg V.

[55] *EI.*, vol. II, p. 121.

[56] *Elliot*: vol. I, p. 127; also see p. 444, foot note 3.

Gandhār, a place near about it. He destroyed the 'Budd' (or an image) there and built in its place a mosque[57].

The above remarks to a great extent support the contention that an Arab invasion on western India did take place about the middle of the 8th century when Bāppā's son and successor Khummān I adorned the throne of Mewar as a vassal of the mighty Gurjara Pratihāra Nāgahaṭṭa I who was then the king of a major portion of Rajputānā and Gujrāt. He seems to have joined hands with Guhila Khummān I and the Cāhamān Rājā Gūvaka I or Govindrāj and some of his other feudatory princes to put a check to the progress of the Arab forces. Thus the report of the *Prabandhakoṣa* about Govindrāj or Gūvaka I's fight with the Arabs and the traditional information about Khummān I's engagement with the foreign foes and the statement of the *Gwālior Praśasti* quoted above regarding Nāgabhaṭṭa I's victory over the 'Baluchi Mlecchas' may be accepted as true. The allied army, it seems, succeeded in repulsing Hasham who could not proceed beyond Broach. This incident, almost a forgotten and neglected one, can be reckoned as the foreign invasion in which Khummān I participated and earned the immortal glory still attached to the name.

The early recorders including Col. Tod, for want of adequate knowledge of real history, have confused this invasion of Hasham (about 755 A. D.) with that of Bashar which took place in the 1st quarter of the 9th century when Al-Mammun was the Caliph at Bāgdād and Khummān II (812-30), the fifth descendent of Bāppā was ruling at Chitor. But a careful study of the Rajput annals and the chronological considerations about these rulers reveal that it was Khummān I and not Khummān II who fought the advancing Arabs of Hasham. Hence it is wrong to say that Khummān I faced no foreign invader or that it was he who partook in the conflict with the forces of Caliph Al-Mammun which are narrated at a great length in *Khummān Rāso*.

8. *Mewar under the vassalage of the imperial Gurjara Pratihāras of Kanauj*

It is quite reasonable to believe that since the days of Nāgabhaṭṭa I and Vatsarāj the Guhilots of Mewar owed allegiance to the mighty

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[57] *CH.*, 1, vol III, p 9.

Pratihāras whose empire by then included whole of the north from Mārwār and Broach in the west to Bengal in the east. Khummān I according to the *Aitpur Praśasti* was succeeded by his son Mattaṭ whom Col. Tod[58] and the bards have written as Mangal. He is said to have usurped the throne by murdering his own father. The Chitor inscription[59] of 1274 A. D. says that he was victorious over Mālwā. This campaign in Mālwā, he seems to have undertaken in the train of his over-lord Pratihāra Vatsarāj who was defeated and driven out of Mālwā by Rāṣṭrakuṭa Rājā Dhruva Rāj and his chief Rathor Karkka Rāj of Lāṭa. But the parricide failed to win the regard and support of the Rajput chiefs of Mewar and was ultimately driven out of the state. The throne of Mewar then passed on in succession to Bhartṛpaṭṭa I and his son Singh. The Chātsu branch of the Guhilots traces their pedigree from Ishān Bhaṭṭa, the younger brother of Singh[60]. Bhartṛpaṭṭa and both his sons, Singh of Mewar and Ishān Bhaṭṭa of Chātsu ruled as vassals of Vatsarāj and Nāgabhaṭṭa II (793-833 A. D.) and it is not wrong to assume that it was Nāgabhaṭṭa II who conquered Matsya Desa (eastern Rajputana) and installed the Guhilots to rule as his feudatories at Chātsu (in Jaipur division). The history of the reign of these two princes, Bhartṛpaṭṭa and Singh, though missing must not have been devoid of heroic deeds. By the year 812 A. D.[61] Khummān II occupied the 'Gaddi' of Mewar after Singh and he was also a vassal of the imperial Pratihāra Nāgabhaṭṭa II.

The history of the rise of Gurjara Pratihāras as sovereign power in northern India is the story of the military exploits of Nāgabhaṭṭa II (800-36 A. D.) and his more vigorous successors, undertaken by them in the first half of the 9th century and after. During the years 799 and 801 A. D. Nāgabhaṭṭa II subdued the rulers of Āndhra, Vidarabha, Kalinga, and Sindh. About these very days he was attacked by Rāṣṭrakuṭa ruler Govind III who inflicted on him a crushing defeat. By the year 812 A. D. he annexed the kingdom of Kanauj after deposing Cakrāyudha a protege of Dharmapal of Bengal whom he vanquished in a sanguinary contest at Mudgagiri (Monghyr).

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[58] *Tod*. vol. I, p. 296.

[59] *Tod*, *Bhāwanagar Ins.*, pp. 74-77

[60] *EI.*, vol. I, pp. 13-17

[61] *Tod.*, vol. 1, p, 291.

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Emboldened by this victory he led a campaign to Bengal and defeated Dharmapal. At Sāmbhar his vassal and contemporary was Gūvaka II, the grandson of Gūvaka I, who according to *Prithvirājivjaya Mahākāvya*[62] married his sister Kalāvati to the king of Kānyakubja or Kanauj, most likely Nāgabhaṭṭa II. The *Gwālior Praśasti* further represents that Nāgabhaṭṭa won victories against Anārtta (North Kathiāwār), Mālwā, the Matsya, Kirāt (the Himalayan region), and the Turuṣkas (the Arabs from Sindh) and made successful attacks on the Rāṣṭrakuṭas of the Deccan. These events occupying a period of twenty years from 813 to 833 A. D. made him the master of practically the whole of the northen India.[63]

9. *Khummān* II: *Traditions about his clash with the Arabs*

The above mentioned facts about the extensive conquests made by Nāgabhaṭṭa II leave little doubt that Khummān II, the fifth in descent from Bāppā, must have also acknowledged the sovereignty of the mighty Pratihāra Nāgabhaṭṭa and fought for his overlord in most of his exploits. Traditions confirming this statement declare that Khummān fought twenty four great battles and that his name like that of Caesar became a family distinction[64]. A later work named *Khummān Rāso*, by Dalpat Vijaya, a poet of Dingala, narrates that 'Mahmud Khurāsānpat' invaded Chitor and made a demand for tribute. The chief object of *Khummān Rāso* is to celebrate the defence made on this occasion. It also contains a long catalogue of the princes who aided in defending this bulwark of the Hindu faith. Though *Khummān Rāso*, by the recensions as yet available is not regarded as the standard book of history, composed as it was during the 17th century, yet, poets, as Hume remarks, 'though they disfigure the most certain history by their fictions and use strange liberties with truth when they are the sole historians, have commonly some foundation for their wildest exaggerations.' The list of princes who came to the aid of Kummān on the eve of this invasion, as mentioned in this work, is mostly fictitious[65] knowing as we do that such motley arrays are a favourite bardic theme. With all this, the main fact centring round this events in *Rāso* that an alien invasion did take place must have had its foundation on some older record or work now missing. As the aforesaid *Gwalior Praśasti* corroborating the *Rāso* account also informs that Khummān II's overlord Nāgabhaṭṭa II fought with the 'Turuṣkas' or Mussalmans, it is most probable that some time between 813 and 833 A. D. an Arab general did attack Rajputana by way of Sindh but his advance was checked by a strong coalition of the then Rajput rulers in western India which must have included Nāgabhaṭṭa II, Khummān II, Gūvaka II and the others of the Pratihāra feudatories.

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[62] *Prithvirājvijāya-Mahākāvya*, s. v. verses 21-22.

[63] *EI.*, vol. 18, p. 108, 112 verse 11 ; *Indian Historical Quarterly*, vol. XX, pp. 72-75 ; R. S. Tripathi: *Hist. of Ancient India*, p. 320. The verse in question reads as follows:—"Of him (i.e. Nāgabhaṭṭa), whose mode of life was beneficial to all mankind, the incomprehensible royal qualities (like eloquence, statesmanship etc.) became manifest in the world, even from boyhood, by his forcible seizure of the hill forts of the kings of Anartta, Mālwā, Kirāt, Turuṣkas, Vatsa and Matsya".

[64] *Tod.*, vol. I, p. 286.

Tod says that 'Mahmud Khurāsānpat' referred to in the *Khummān Rāso* is a misreading for Mammun, i.e. the Abbaside Caliph Al-Mammun (c. 813-36), who got Indian dependencies from his father Harun. The governor of Sindh during the Caliphate of Al-Mammun was Bashar, son of Dāud who is reported to have rebelled against the Caliph, and Ghassān who was sent to suppress his revolt, carried him to Baghdād and left as his own deputy in Sindh, a man named Musā, son of Yahiyā, son of Khalid, son of Barmak. This active and energetic Barmacide ruled till his death in 836 A. D.[66] The muslim authorities maintain that as a result of the efforts of his general in Sindh a portion of Hind was also conquered and annexed to the empire of Al-Mammun. Fatuhal Baldan[67] states, "Musā killed Bālā, king of Ash-Sharki although the latter had given him 500 thousand dirhams to preserve his life. Bālā was faithful to Ghassān and wrote to him, in the presence of his army, through the princes who were with him, but his request was rejected." In the present state of our knowledge of these facts, it is difficult to say anything definite about this fight

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[65] *Ibid.*, vol. I, p, 290 foot note 1.

[66] *CHI.*, vol. III, p. 9

[67] *Elliot*, vol. I, p. 128. Also see on pp. 441-42. The name of 'Bālā' could not as yet be properly identified,

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of Musā and Bālā, who is referred to as king of the East, yet these references make one to believe that Musā in the first quarter of the 9th century led his forces into Hindustan and fought a coalition of the Rajput Rajas of Western India, who seemed to have offered a stubborn opposition with the consequences that this expedition of the Arabs, like the two previous ones also failed to achieve the desired end of obtaining a foothold on the mainland of Hindustan.

M. L. MATHUR

The Janapada and the Greek City-State

Janapada analogous to City-State—The *Caraṇa*, *Gotra* and *Janapada* were three typical Pāṇinian institutions of educational, social and political life respectively. It is not without significance that the term *Janapada* is conspicuous by absence in the Vedic Saṁhitās. It occurs only in the latest phase of the Brāhmaṇa period, and finds its full development in the *Aṣṭādhyāyī*. A comparative study of human societies affords innumerable analogies, and we find ummistakable parallels between the *Janapada* in India and the *City-State* in Greece. Both flourished at about the same period. In Greece a large number of City-States represented so many isolated communities, which were self-contained and had their own systems of government, but all of them had similar social and religious customs and institutions. A few of them like Athens and Sparta were more important than others.

Janapadas in India—In India the number of *Janapada* (States) was quite large. Pāṇini gives a rich picture of *Janapadas* extending from Kamboja (head-waters of the Oxus) to Aśmaka and Sauvīra (modern Sind) to Sūramasa, (Surma valley in Assam). The Janapada experiment in India was on a much vaster scale than in Greece both as regards their extension in place and time. The fuller lists of Indian *Janapadas* containing about 175 names are preserved in the Bhuvana-koṣa chapters of the Purāṇas (*Vāyu*, ch. 45; *Matsya*, ch. 47; *Mārkaṇḍeya*, ch. 57; *Vāmana*, ch. 13; cf. D. C. Sircar, *Text of the Purāṇic List of Peoples*, *IHQ*, XXI, 1945, pp. 297-314. The list in the *Bhīṣmaparva*, ch. 10 has about 240 names).

Almost all *Janapada* names in Pāṇini are traceable to that list. The territorial divisions envisaged there are Madhya, Prācya, Udīcya, Dakṣiṇāpatha, Aparānta, Vindhyapṛṣṭha, and Parvata, and the *Janapada* names are grouped accordingly, which affords a clear picture of the *Janapada* states spread all over the country. The *Parvatāśrayin Janapadas* of the *Purāṇas* find pointed mention in Pāṇini as *āyudhajīvins* of the Parvata country (IV. 3. 91), i.e., military high-landers settled in the North-West of India and in the Trigarta country, as explained above (*ante*, pp. 434-6).

In Greece the City-States were scattered mostly amongst hills and valleys and separated by well-defined boundaries. In India also the *Janapadas* had demarcated boundaries to which Pāṇini refers as *tadavadhi* (IV. 2.124). The *Kāśikā* observes that other *Janapadas* formed boundaries of a *Janapada* surrounding it on all sides (*tad-avadhirapi Janapada eva gṛhyate*). A chain of *Janapadas* occupied the entire stretch of land and some of them were big enough to admit of several territorial divisions of which the names are regulated by *sūtras* VI. 2. 103; VII. 3. 12; *e.g.*, the Sindhu divided Pūrva-Gandhāra with capital at Takṣaśilā from Apara-Gandhāra with its chief town Puṣkalāvatī; similarly Pūrva-Madra, Apara-Madra, and Pūrva, Uttara, Dakṣiṇa-Pañcāla.

Acropolis—But it is more in the development of the *Janapada* state through the ages that we find a striking parallel with the greek City-State. The *polis* or the city was the nerve-centre of the City-state, and it was opposed to the open village. The "fluid" term *polis* signified the acropolis or the fortified town. In India also each Janapada had its fortified town or capital. An interesting list of sixteen *Mahājanapadas* with names of capitals is well-known in the Buddhist texts, and similarly of twenty-five *Janapadas* in the Jaina literature with names of their respective capitals.

Evolution of City-State and Janapada-State—In the evolution of the City-State there were four well defined stages known as *Genos*, *Phratries*, *Phulai* and *Polis*. The *polis* grew out of small beginnings, from the clan—the *genos*, the patriarchal clan, "the first unit of society" —and then passed through the associations of families, the *phratries*, and the military groupings of clans, the *phulai*, tribes, to the political organism which grew out of a settled life and which was the City-State (Glotz, *The Greek City and its Institutions*, Foreword by Henri Berr, p. ix). The analogy holds true in the case of the evolution of the *Janapada* State in India, which had its humble beginnings in clan or *Jana*; the *Jana* developed into a number of individual units called families or *Kula*; and associations of families formed the ruling Kṣatriya tribes which wielded political power and are termed *Jānapadins* by Pāṇini (IV 3.100). The *Jānapadins* were, according to the *Kāśikā*, the ruling class in the *Janapada* (*Janapada-svāminaḥ Kṣatriyāḥ*). This was the stage when the *Janapada* State emerged in its full-fledged development. The correspondence of the *Janapada* and the City-State may be set forth below :

I	Clan	*Genos*	*Jana*
II	Families	*Phratries*	*Kula*
III	Tribes	*Phulai*	*Janapadinaḥ*
IV	City	*Polis*	*Janapada*

We can now see why in the whole of the Vedic literature there is no mention of the *Janapada* institution, whereas the *Jana* finds repeated mention. The Bharata *Jana* tracing itself to a common ancester was a compact clan. It must have expanded and the outcome was the increasing importance of independent families or *Kula*, which ultimately developed into *Gotras* and *Vaṁśas*. The clan was not yet settled in any particular area, but with the growth of independent families it tended to lose its mobility and ultimately the tribe came to be tied to an abode, called *abhijana* in Pāṇini (IV 3. 90), literally the region that had come under the "land-taking" of a *Jana*. This territory of the *Jana* became the *Jana-pada*, whence the original settlers who formed the governing class were called *Janapadins*. In the *Janapada* there came to live also other peoples or aliens who were distinguished from the privileged class of rulers or *Janapadins* proper. The latter were consecrated to rulership and designated as *abhiṣikta-Vaṃśya* in *sūtra* VI 2. 34. Pāṇini refers to the *Rājanyas* of the Andhaka-Vṛṣṇi *saṅgha*, and, as clearly stated by the *Kāśikā*, only consecrated Kṣatriyas of that confederacy formed the object of the grammatical rule. The evidence of the Licchavis of the Vṛji *Janapada* is well known, the waters of their *maṅgala puṣkariṇī* used for the consecration of the 7,707 *Rājans* were closely guarded against others.

It is, however, clear that in its later stages the *Janapada*, irrespective of the fact whether it was republican (more strictly oligarchical as in Greece) or monarchical (either *gaṇādhīna* or *ekarāja* IV, 1.161, *Vārt.*) consisted of a very mixed population. Patañjali explicitly says that members of the ruling Kṣatriya class in the Mālava republic were called *Mālavya*, and in the Kṣudraka *Kṣaudrakya*, but the slaves and free labourers were excluded from the application of the terms.[1]

[1] इदं तर्हि क्षौद्रकाणामपत्यम् मालवानामपत्यमिति । अत्रापि क्षौद्रक्यः मालव्य इति नैतत्तेषां दासे वा भवति कर्मकरे वा । किं तर्हि । तेषामेव कस्मिश्चित् । भाष्य ।

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In practice the name of the ruler in a monarchical state and the name of the Kṣatriya members who constituted the privileged aristocracy and were called *apatya*, were both derived from the name of the *Janapada* (*Kṣatriya-samāna-śābdāj-Janapadāt tasya rājany-apatyavat*, *Vārt.* on IV. 1.168). Thus the king and a Kṣatriya descendant of Pañcāla were both called Pāñcāla.

Janapada, a Cultural Unit—The stages of evolution from *Jana* to *Janapada* have yet to be clearly formulated and studied on the basis of literary evidence which is very extensive. The *Atharvaveda* speaks of small homogeneous communities of people differentiated from one another (*bahudhā janam*), speaking different tongues (*vivācasam*) and following diverse faiths (*nānā-dharmāṇām*, XII. 1. 45). Soon new factors operated leading to the discovery of fresh centres of population and development of routes, towns and professions depending on internal trade and commerce. All this contributed to the growth of regional consciousness and the emergence of *Janapada* life. The *Janapada* was not merely a geographical term; it was more of a social, cultural and political phenomenon that found cumulative expression in the *Janapada*. Each state was free to choose its form of government —a state of circumstances envisaged in such expression as *Eka-kṛtāḥ*, *Pūga-kṛtāḥ* II. 1. 59); each was sovereign and independent so long as its freedom was respected by the neighbouring states; each was free to follow its intellectual and cultural life; each had its own language and gods. The Buddha permitted the spread of his teachings in the local dialect of each *Janapada* and also drew attention to the continued worship of the traditional *caityas* and deities. In the Greek cities close connection existed in the beginning between political organisation and religion. Every city had its deity as had every family (Glotz, *op. cit.*, p. 19). In India homage to the traditional *caityas* and deities, such as Yakṣas and Nāgas, was obligatory on all persons in the community, but with the emergence of new faiths like Buddhism and the Bhāgavata religion, the religious tie became less rigorous and the "*culture*" of the clan came to be replaced by personal freedom in religious matters. The grammatical literature points to instances of linguistic peculiarities of *Janapadas*, *e.g.*, of Kamboja, Surāṣṭra and Prācya (*Bhāṣya*, I. 9). Pāṇini refers to the particular domestic culture prevailing in the Kuru *Janapada* for which the linguistic expression *Kuru-gārhapatam* (VI. 2. 42) had become current. We have already drawn attention to its import. *Kātyāyana* adds to it *Vṛji-gārhpatam*, which perhaps refers to the system of family government prevailing among the Licchavis. The *Mahābhārata* referring to the *Kula* system of polity refers to its two salient features, firstly that there was a *Rājā* in each household (*gṛhe gṛhe hi rājānaḥ*, Sabhāparva, 14. 2), and secondly in the *Kula* polity some one becomes supreme at one time, and somebody else at another (Sabhā, 14, 6). This refers to periodical election to the headship of the oligarchical state, a system referred to as *Pārameṣṭhya* (*ib.*, 14.5). It is also stated that in the Vṛji *Janapada* the social life of its citizens was regulated by the *Gaṇa* in certain matters, such as marriage. The general rule was that no marriage should be contracted outside Vaiśālī and even outside its districts. The Śākyans also were very fastidious about the purity of their blood. Similar care was taken in this matter by the pure citizens in Greece.

Forms of Government—The *Janapada* states in India had different systems of government just as the City-States in Greece. Amongst them Pāṇini refers to *Gaṇa or Saṅgha*, *Avayavas* (IV. 1.171) or member states of a Union, Leagues or Confederacies as in the case of *Trigartaṣaṣṭha* (V. 3. 116.), *Rājanyas* (VI. 2. 34), *Dvandva* or *Vyutkramaṇa* (Party system, VIII. 1. 15), *Janapadins*, *Abhiṣikta-Vaṁśya Kṣatriya*, *Pūga*, *Śreṇi*, *Grāmaṇī*, *Vrātas*, *Kumāra-Pūga* (VI. 2. 88), *Pariṣadvala Rājā* (V 2.112.), *Saṁdhi-miśra Rājā* (VI. 2.154), *Āyudhajīvins* and *Parvatīyas* (V. 3.91 ; IV 2.143), etc. The political significance of these terms has been explained in their proper places. Just as bands of mercenary armed soldiers existed in many *Āyudhajīvī Saṅghas*, similarly they existed in Greece and many were enlisted in Alexander's army recruited from the Greek cities and the highlands in Thrace. The code of honour with these fighters also offers scope for comparative study.

Common Ancestry—The City-States were formed of small communities of men who generally owned a common ancestry. The same fiction prevailed in the *Janapadas* in which the entire Kṣatriya tribe of the *Janapadins* believed themselves to have been descended from an original founder who was almost deified. So long the clan was compact this memory of a common forefather was rooted in truth. For example, the *Savitrīputrakas* mentioned by Pāṇini in the *Gaṇapāṭha* to V. 3.116. (*Dāmanyādi*) formed a clan consisting of one hundred families, all descended from Sāvitrī and Satyavān (*Sāvitryāḥ ...tad vai putraśatāni jajñe*; Āraṇyaka, 283.12). Son (*putra*) in such cases probably means descendant, and 'one hundred' stood for an indefinite number. They all bore the title of *Rājā* and all were Kṣatriyas, each family in turn multiplying through its sons and grandsons (*te cāpi sarve rājānaḥ Kṣatriyāḥ putra-pautriṇāḥ*, Karṇa., 4.47). But such a claim for the whole tribe could only be a fiction, maintained seriously through generations. In many cases the names of eponymous founders of the *Janapadas* were invented, e.g. Aṅga, Vaṅga, Kaliṅga, Suhma and Puṇḍra are stated to be the five sons of Dīrghatamas, and each the founder of a *Janapada* (Ādi., 98.32).

Janapada Culture—The City-State transformed the mental, social, religious and political outlook of the Greeks leading to an unparalleled flowering of the national genius as seldom seen in world history. The religious and philosophical contributions of the citizens in the *Janapadas* constitute brilliant chapters in the history of Indian thought. The intellectual and metaphysical ferment during the *Janapada* period is well reflected in the Pali and Ardha-Māgadhī literatures and some of the sublime dialogues recorded in the Śāntiparvan are verily the *Brahmajāla-sutta* of Sanskrit literature. In one respect the change was all too marked, even for India, and it was the gradual secularisation of education and learning which were previously subservient to the Vedic *Caraṇas*. As has been shown in detail a mass of literature known to Pāṇini had been developed outside the aegis of the Vedic schools. Grammar itself was such a subject cultivated by independent master-minds who were a glory to their *Janapadas*. As a matter of fact, the foundations of most of our scientific and philosophical systems were laid in this period. It is stated for the Greek City-state that Homeric education there was replaced by a type of education which took its colour and shape from the practical and economic needs of the new city. The fact has its exact parallel in the Indian *Janapada*, where new factors brought into being a new ideal of education serving the needs of trade and economic life. Art and industry were for the first time accorded a place of honour. *Yāska* had noted this significant change:

> यथा जानपदीषु विद्यातः पुरुषविशेषो भवति ।

'Proficiency in the arts required by the life in the *Janapada* confers on persons a title to distinction' (*Nirukta*, I. 1. 5). Pāṇini explains the term *Jānapadī* as so many *Vṛttis* (IV. 1. 42), i.e. skilled arts or profesions devoted to producing necessaries of life. The Pāli literature and Pāṇini record a number of such *śilpas* flourishing with beehive activity in the *Janapadas*.

Citizenship—Citizens of a common *Janapada* were known as *Sajanapada* (IV. 3. 85), a term having the same importance as *Sabrahmacārī* in the case of the *Caraṇa* institution to designate all its students (VI. 3. 86). The three appellations:, *Caraṇa*, *Janapada* and *Gotra* were distinctions of an individual in the *Janapada* age.

Loyalty (*Bhakti*)—Loyalty of the citizen to his *polis* and to its laws and rulers was the hall-mark of Greek life and counted as one of its cardinal virtues. Its noblest expression is found in the life of Socrates himself: "As to his parents and master, so to the laws and his country, he must not return injury for injury, nor blow for blow. Country is more than a mother; for her sake all things must be endured" (Glotz, *op. cit.*, p. 140). The *Janapada* state was for the citizen, his mother—*Māta bhūmiḥ putro ahaṃ pṛthivyāḥ* (*Atharva*, XII. 1. 12)—and the *Janapada Dharmas* or its laws were to receive his complete loyalty. Pāṇini designates it as *Bhakti*, the political and moral allegiance of the citizen both to the *Janapada* and its *Janapadins* (IV 3. 100); *e.g.*, a citizen of the Aṅga *Janapada* was called *Āṅgaka* with reference to his *Bhakti* to the Aṅga State; and to the Aṅga Kṣatriyas or the *abhiṣikta-Vaṁśya* rulers of the Aṅga *Janapada* of whom the citizen was himself an integral part. The two-fold *Bhakti* is significantly distinguished, *viz.* to the *State in theory* and to *its government in practical life*. *Dharma Ideal*—the new conception of law in the city-state was inspired by religious respect and marked by moral grandeur considered to be of divine origin. It is almost identical with the new interpretation of *Dharma* given to it in the *Mahābhārata*:

नमो धर्माय महते धर्मो धारयति प्रजाः ।

It is not the place to enter into details about the new ethico-social meaning of *Dharma*, but it is clearly intended by Pāṇini in such terms as *Dhārmika* (*Dharmaṃ carati*, IV. 4. 41., where *carati* is explained as *āsevā*, habitual moral conduct or practice of virtue) and *Dharmya* (*Dharmād-anapeta*, IV. 4. 92). *Dharma* at once denoted justice and virtue. The ideal of the *Janapada* State was the highest development of virtue and production of the perfect citizen. This ideal is embodied in the famous words of king Aśvapati Kaikeya, which he uttered in the presence of those citizens who were householders, possessing magnificent mansions (*mahāśāla*) supplied with all the luxuries that *Janapada* life could offer, but who still followed the path of virtue and learning (*mahāśrotriya*):

> "Within my realm (*Janapada*) there is no thief,
> No miser, nor a drinking man,
> None altarless, none ignorant,
> No man unchaste, no wife unchaste."
>
> (*Chāndogya Up.* V, 11. 5)[2].

Reason was cultivated as the ideal of individual perfection in the City-State, and we find a similar ideal for the *Janapada* citizen, embodied in the new word *Prajñā*, explained in several discourses of the *Mahābhārata*. The *Viduranīti* is a summary of those ideals of virtue and commonsense which were cultivated by the *Janapada* citizens. The rulers themselves were to be *Prājña* (Śānti., 69. 27). The sum total of all virtues and of the legal, social and moral ordinances which governed the life of the citizens and the Janapada polity was called *Vainayika*, to which both Pāṇinī (V. 4. 34) and the Śāntiparva (68.4) refer. The *Vainayika* functions of the *Janapada* state are described at length in a long chapter with the epic strain '*yadi rājā na pālayet* (Śānti., 68. 1-61).

Defence (*Gupti*)—The defence of the City-State was of the utmost concern to its rulers as well as to the citizens. 'The people ought to fight for the laws as for the walls of its city', said Heraclitus (Glotz, *op. cit.*, p. 139). The *Mahābhārata* discusses in detail the defence of the *Janapada* (*Katham rakṣyo janapadaḥ*, Śānti, 69.1) and lays great stress on *Gupti* or the military preparedness of the fortified city and its citizens. It refers to *parikhā*, *prākāra*, etc. as parts of that defensive system, to which Pāṇinī also refers, the evidence in the epic being much more elaborate mentioning a full contingent of military and civil institutions needed for the defence of the realm, *e.g. durga*, *gulma*, *nagara*, *pura*, *śākhā-nagara*, *ārāma*, *udyāna*, *nagaropavana*, *āpaṇa*, *vihāra*, *sabhā*, *āvasatha*, *catvara*, *rāṣṭra*, *bala-mukhyas*, *śasyābhihāra*, *saṁkrama*, *prakaṇṭhī*, *ākāśa-jananī*, *kaḍanga-dvāraka*,

[2] न मे स्तेनो जनपदे न कदर्यो न मद्यपः ।
नानाहिताग्निर्नाविद्वान् न स्वैरी स्वैरिणी कुतः ॥

dvāras, *śataghnī*, *bhāṇḍāgāra*, *āyudhāgāra*, *dhānyāgāra*, *aśvāgāra*, *gajāgāra*, *balādhikaraṇa*, all leading to the complete defence of the *Janapada* and its *pura* (Śānti, 69·1-71). We are told by the Greek historians of Alexander how the impregnable nature of the defences of the Massaga and Aornos forts (Maśakāvatī and Varaṇā) helped the brave Āsvakāyanas in Gandhāra in offering resistance to the invaders.

Assembly and Council—Each *Janapada*, whether a kingly state or a *saṅgha* had its assembly (*sabhā*) and a governing council (*pariṣad*). In order to become a member of the Assembly the Greek citizen was required to have attained the age of eighteen years when he was enrolled on the register of the deme, but since usually two years of military service had first to be done, it was seldom that a man appeared in the assembly before he was twenty. Pāṇini refers to the qualification of a citizen to become a member of the *sabhā*. Such a one was called *Sabhya*, with privilege to be enrolled as a member and attend the meetings of the *Sabhā* (*sabhāyā yaḥ*, IV. 4.105; *sabhāyāṁ sādhuḥ*, where *sādhu* specially means *yogya*, qualified). A Kṣatriya young man, when eighteen years of age, acquired the privilege of becoming a *kavaca-hara* (*Vayasi ca*, III. 2. 10, *Kavaca-hara Kṣatrya-kumāra*), 'fit for military duty', and at the age of twenty-one became qualified for all political rights and duties. The new word *sabhya* was equivalent in meaning to the Vedic *sabheya* which Pāṇini records as an old Chāndasa term (IV. 4.106). *Sabhā* had a two-fold meaning, i.e. the assembly and the assembly-hall (*śālā*, II. 4. 23-24).

In the ancient democracies of Greece which did not know the representative system, politics was for the mass of citizens á regular preoccupation, a constant duty (Glotz, *op. cit.*, p. 175). There were 42,000 citizens of Athens in 431 B.C., all did not attend and rarely were more than 2,000 or 3,000 citizens seen on the Pnyx. Certain resolutions were supposed to be taken by the "entire people"; actually, in these cases, 6,000 votes constituted a quorum (Glotz, *op. cit.*, p. 153). We do not have many details of such matters for the *Sabhā* in the Indian *Janapadas*. But we are told that there were 60,000 Khattiyas in the capital of the Ceta state, all of whom were styled *rājāno* (*Jāt.*, VI. 511). It at least means that they were all citizens entitled to the membership of their *Sabhā*. Amongst the

Licchavis there were 7,707 *rājāno*. No information is available about the quorum in the *Sabhā*, but in one instance the number of the *Deva-jana* i.e. the Deva host functioning as a *Jana* is stated to be 6,000 (*ṣaṭ-sāhasrāḥ*, *Atharva.*, XI 5.2), and again as 3,000 (*Bṛ-Up.*, III 9.1). The former seems to refer to the quorum of the *Jana*, and the latter to the *Pṛthag-Devāḥ* (*Atharva*, XI 5. 2), *i.e.*, approximate number of members individually attending the *Sabhā*. These numbers obviously lacking any other reasonable explanation seem to have been taken from the procedure as it prevailed in the *Janapada* assemblies of men. The Vṛṣṇyandhaka heroes assembled in a body in an emergent meeting of their *Sabhā* are actually compared to the gods seated in the Sudharmā hall (Ādi., 212.15).

The *Sabhā* must have held regular sessions on fixed days, and also emergent meetings convened to consider unforeseen events, as for example, the abduction of Subhadrā by Arjuna. Under the stress of public disaster, when there was urgent necessity, the *Sabhāpāla* (officer) convened an assembly of panic and tumult, summoning the citizens of the town by sounding the war drum (*sānnāhikī bherī*, Ādi., 212.11).

The *Sabhā* as an institution existed both in the *ekarāja* states and the *gaṇas*. In the former it was named after the name of the king (II 4.23), as *Candragupta-sabhā*.

Sympolities—Under pressure of political events, neighbouring and kindred cities or groups of people united in larger communities. This led to confederations of the most diverse nature. Union was accomplished in all cases by the adoption of a common constitution. This was given the name of *sympolity* in the Greek City-States. The sympolities, which are known to us present so many forms, so many gradations, that it is often puzzling to know how to define them, or one hesitates for the appropriate name. Almost the same political phenomena prevailed in the case of the *Janapada* states at the time of Pāṇini. He seems to have surveyed these diverse sympolities and arranged the different political terms in the *sūtra*: *Śreṇyādayaḥ kṛtādibhiḥ* (II. 1.59). The first three terms *Śreṇi*, *Eka* and *Pūga* have reference to three types of states; the diverse nature of their constitutional modifications are indicated by the words in the *Kṛtādi gaṇa*. The variety of forms and constitutional gradations in the case of *Śreṇi* or republics may be set forth as follows:

1. *śreṇikṛta*, formed or organised into a *śreṇi* under pressure of political circumstances.

2. *śreṇi-mita*, groups of people who were akin to *Śreṇis* only to a restricted extent.

3. *śreṇi-mata*, united with the approval of the constituent groups each confederating unit retaining the status of a *śreṇi*.

4. *śreṇi-bhūta*, several groups organised as a close-knit *śreṇi*, with the spontaneous will of their members.

5. *śreṇi-ukta*, having only the formal designation of a *śreṇi* or *pūga*, otherwise retaining the independence of each group in the union.

6. *śreṇi-samājñāta*, something similar to an administration in which only a few officials like magistrates, *mahattaras*, were accepted in common by the contracting parties to a union.

7. *śreṇi-samāmnāta*, a union as *śreṇi* or *pūga* or *eka*, in which a common constitution was arrived at by several Janapadas by incorporating some features of one with some of another.

8. *śreṇi-śamākhyāta*, completely and fully merged or related to one another;

9. *śreṇi-sambhavita*, welded into one by the mingling or transference of populations, perhaps akin to synœcism.

10. *śreṇi-avadhārita*, *śreṇis* forming unions in only a limited or restricted manner.

11. *śreṇi-nirākṛta*, seceded from a union or hegemony of states.

12. *śreṇi-avakalpita*, states which were ripe or prepared to form unions by virtue of their strength of arms.

13. *śreṇi-upakṛta*, a smaller state becoming a partner with a bigger *Janapada* and earning advantage by the arrangement.

14. *śreṇi-upākṛta*, brought near or driven to form a union as a reaction to the menacing growth of some neighbouring state.

The word-meanings given to the various terms of the *Gaṇa kṛtādi* are more or less suggestive and the determining of their precise political significance must await further research. This much, however, is indicated that they refer to political unions or constitutional forms of diverse nature or extent by which new states were created out of old ones, embracing new groups, losing some part of their autonomy, or suppressing their frontiers to form into bigger unions, or organising into military bands (*pūgas*) of varying *camaraderie* and cohesion.

Avayavas—Pāṇini refers to this term in *sūtra* IV. 1.173; its meaning cannot be said to be beyond doubt. The *Kāśikā* mentions *Six Avayavas* of the Sālva state, viz. Udumbara, Tilakhala, Madrakāra, Yugandhara, Bhuliṅga, Śaradaṇḍa, to which Patañjali adds three more, viz. Ajamīḍha, Ajakranda, and Budha (*Bhāṣya*, II. 269). Their territories were far flung over Rajputana and the Panjab without any geographical contiguity. It seems that the *Avayavas* were Sālva citizens who were detached from the main body and quartered on other *Janapadas* as an occupying colony where they enjoyed all the privileges of the new state but at the same time considered themselves to be part and parcel of the parent state of the Sālva Kṣatriyas. Thus they were "the Sālva people of Uduṁbara", "the Sālva people dwelling in Tilakhala", etc., but constitutionally a section of the Sālva *Janapada*. Such a system was also known in Athenian democracy, where the cleruchs (persons sent out from Athens as occupation forces) were quartered in thousands on the soil of other cities, and were designated as "the Athenian people of Imbros", "the Athenian people dwelling in Scyros", etc. (Glotz, *ib.*, p. 282).

V. S. AGRAWALA

Some Family Letters in Kharoṣṭhī Script from Central Asia

It was about fifty years ago that Sir A. Stein, during his archaeological explorations and excavations in Chinese Turkestan, was able to unearth[1] and bring to light from age long oblivion a huge collection of *Kharoṣṭhī* documents in *Prākṛt* language. These records (782 in number[2]) are available in the shape of wooden tablets, leather pieces, silk fragments and a few paper manuscripts too. Pertaining to the everyday activities of the people in the contemporary society as these documents are, they enable us to study the social, religious, political and economic conditions of the region in the early centuries of the Christian Era.

Extravagant in personal eulogy, courteous in tone and full of conventional phrases and ceremoniousness from the point of their terminology, the mode of drafting letters does not seem to have been of indigenous origin or derived from China but perfectly Indian in character.[3] In support of this view, Prof. F. W. Thomas (*Acta Orientalia*, XII, p. 63) likes to compare the flowery style with certain ancient Sanskrit works as the *Mālavikāgni-mitraṃ* (Chapter 1) and the *Harṣacaritaṃ* of Bāṇabhaṭṭa (Canto II). That the Tibetans later on

Abbreviations used :—

I. No. or *KI.* = Rapson, *Kharoṣṭhī Inscriptions discovered by Sir A. Stein in Chinese Turkestan*, Oxford, Vols. I, II, III, (Text only).

II Trans. = Burrow T., *A Translation of the Kharoṣṭhī Documents from Chinese Turkestan*, (1940), London.

III Language = Burrow. T., *The Language of the Kharoṣṭhī Documents from Chinese Turkestan*, (1937), Cambridge.

IV. BSOS = Bulletin of School of Oriental and African Studies, University of London.

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[1] At the ruined sites of *Niya*, *Endere* and *Loulan* which were once included in the Shan-Shan kingdom (lying to the east of Khotan) in Chinese Túrkestan.

[2] 764 documents have been published in three volumes of *KI*, while 18 more in *BSOS*, IX, pp. 111 ff.

[3] Cf. A. Stein, *Ancient Khotan*, p. 366 for quaint phraseology which Sanskrit epistolary style has always affected; *ibid.*, p. 367 f. note 17.

copied the ornate style of these documents is sufficient to show "a continuity in the epistolary manners of the country, exemplifying thereby a cultural influence upon its Tibetan conquerors whose resort, on the other hand, direct to India for an alphabet, had been inspired by state policy and *amour propre*".[4]

The documents refer to various kinds of private letters[5] and documents as *pratilekha*[6] (letter of report or reply), *hastalekha* or *astalekha* (Cf. *ṣilpoga hasta lekha* in no. 729, *Trans*, p. 145), *svastilehka* (health wishing letter), *pravaṃnaga lekha* (sale document of acknowledgement), *paraṃpara lekha* (159), *lekha prahuḍa* (letters concerning gifts and presents), condolence letter (no. 399), letters conveying the birth of a son (no. 702) etc.

Persons concerned with private letters included father, mother, son, daughter, son-in-law, brother-in-law, brother, sister, friends, neighbours, tenants and the landlords.[7] The use of word *priya* (=dear) as *priya jāmātṛ*, *priya pitu*, *priya matu*, *priya svasu*, *priya sali*, *priya putra*, *priya dhitu* is indicative of natural family relationship indeed. But the most frequent expression as *priya bhratu* (=dear brother) does not always denote a natural tie. Even persons of high status use this phrase in the sense of a dear friend (Cf. *Kl*., III, p. 358, *S.V. bhratu*; *JRAS*., 1934, p. 110 also referring to similar style as depicted in the Tibetan documents from Chinese Turkestan; *Acta Orientalia*, XII, pp. 63-4).

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[4] Cf. *Acta Orientalia*, XII, p. 65; *JRAS*., 1934, pp. 110 ff; *JRAS*., 1914, pp. 50-1.

[5] Word *lekha* for a letter and *lekha-hara*, *leharaga*, *lehare* etc., for letter-carriers. Cf. *lekha-vacitu* i.e. reading of letters in no. 399.

[6] Same as *pratilekha* of Kauṭalya as quoted by P. V. Kane, *History of the Dharmaśāstras*, III, Poona, p. 310.

[7] Instances are altogether wanting when a wife could have written a love letter to her husband or vice versa. Does it mean that there was no provision of any freedom for couples in this sphere of life? On the other hand we find wives sending and receiving letters written and addressed in plurality, i.e. in association with their husbands. Even sisters are seen exchanging letters and sending gifts and presents to each other. It is rather not possible to account for the hesitation in writing letters on the part of married couples at least.

[8] i.e. "whose sight is dear, who is honoured of gods and men, whose span of life is 100 divine years"—such is his dear father.

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Introductory portions of private letters

A. *Exchange of letters between sons and parents:—*

(i) *From a son to his father:—*

Priya darśanasa, devamanuśasaṃpujitasa, picara divyavarṣa, śatayu pramanasa priya pitu[8] + name of the father preceding that of the son + *divya śarira arogi paripruchati bahukoḍi śata sahasrāni apramego*[9]; *evam ca sa ca avi ca*[10] and then follows the subject matter of the letter (doc. no. 206). The son addresses his father in a very respectful language. The latter is thus installed to a divinity and a person worshipped by men and gods alike. The conception of 100 years' span of life is in strict accordance with the Vedic prayer which runs thus—*Jīvema śaradaḥ śataṃ*—etc.

In another document (no. 696), the above epithets are wanting and the dear father is simply addressed as *bhaṭaragaśa priyapitu.*

(ii) *From two sons jointly to their father and scribe jointly addressed:—*

Bhaṭaragana priya pitu + names of the father and scribe + *ca padamulaṃmi*[11] + sender's name + *ca śirṣaṃ poḍeṃti*[11] *namakero kareṃti*[11], *divyadhātu*[12] *arogya sampreṣeṃti* (no. 552).

(iii) *From a son to his parents and other persons addressed jointly (no. 164):—*

Bhaṭaragana priyadarśanana devamanuśasaṃpujitana partyachadevatana[13] *priya pitu* + father's name + *priya matu* + mother's name + other names + *padamulaṃmi* + sender's

[9] The son begs to make enquiries into the good health of his father's divine body hundred-thousand and uncountable times.

[10] "And thus I inform"—is the usual language used before the beginning of the actual subject matter of the correspondence.

[11] These phrases have not been used in the above documents. The language of salutation is to be marked with interest.

[12] Cf. *divya śarira* of no. 206 and *divya dhātu* of no. 164.

[13] i.e. divinities incarnate.

name + *namakero kareti, divya śarira arogi paripochati puna puno bahu koḍi śata sahasrani yo aprameyo* preceding the following phrases which are conspicuous by their absence in letters quoted above:—

"*denaṃ ca prathama suṭha ṣatosma tumaho paride aroga vartamāno śrutema saparivarena samaho aham ciśa arogema tumaho prasadena sada storena*[14] *janaṃ samaho, evaṃ ca sa* etc.

(iv) *From a son and his wife together to the parents of the former (no. 702)*:—

The document begins almost in a somewhat similar style as in no. 164 stated above. Here the sender's name precedes that of his wife.

(v) *From a son and his wife to parents and other persons together (no. 476)*:—

Beginning in the usual style, there is only a slight change in the language before the subject matter i.e. *puna puno bahu anega avi ca lihami.*

(vi) *From a father to his son*:—

In no. 109 no grandiloquent titles are used for the son except *priya putra* and son's name + *vyalidavo* preceding the subject matter. The same style is repeated in no. 414 (wherein the father asks the son to come and attend the ailing members of the family) except the addition of one epithet *priya darśana.*

(vii) *From a father to two sons together (no. 106)*:—

It seems rather very peculiar to find a father addressing his sons in a respectful tone i.e. *priya devasaṃpujitana priyadarśana priya putra* + names of sons + *ca* + sender's name + *arogi preṣeti baho apramega.*

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[14] Even news of good health of animals is referred to here. Indeed they were portion of household property. This needs to be compared with ancient Indian conception of *paśu-dhana* which included animals also in the list of the riches of a person.

(viii) *From parents to their son, son's wife and some other persons jointly addressed (no. 475)*:—

Here the style appears to be the same as in no. 164 (noted above) except that the sons are also called as *sunamaparikirtitana*. That parents too salute (cf. *namakero kareti*) and enquiry about *tivyadhatu* of their sons is to be marked with great interest.

B. *Exchange of letters between brothers* :—

(i) *From a monk to his brother (no. 646)*:—

Priyadarśanasa priyadeva-manuṣya-saṃpujidasa yogya tivya varṣa-śatayu pramānasa sunamapari-kirtidasa[15] *prachadevatana*[16]*priyabhrata* + brother's name + *Śramana*[17] *Saṃgarachiya arogi prichati bahu koḍi śata sahasrāni apramego evaṃ ca sa ca* etc.

(ii) *From a younger brother to an elder one (no. 97)*:—

Here most of the epithets of no. 646 have not been used but since it is a note from a younger brother, the correspondent does not fail to pay proper respects by using the humble phrase of salutation i.e. "bows his head" (*evaṃ ca śiras viñavemi*).

(iii) *Other letters between brothers (no. 139,* cf. *nos. 152, 157, 499, 519)*:—

Epithets as *Kalyanakari-mitra*,[18] (=Skt. *kalyāṇakārī mitra*, nos. 499, 612) and divinity incarnate (*pracachadevatasa*, no. 499) are quite interesting indeed. In document no. 247, a brother demands an early reply in return (*Śighra atra eda iśa avaśa prahadavo pratilekha avaśa prahadavo*).

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[15] Cf. no. 475 above.

[16] Cf. foot note 14 above.

[17] For the life of these *śramaṇas*, consult my paper in *Lakṣmaṇa Swarūpa Volume*, Hoshiarpur, pp. 175-83.

[18] Such an epithet may confirm the opinion of Rapson (*KI*., III, p. 358) quoted above.

C. *Exchange of letters between females*: —

(i) In no. 316 the correspondent sends a gift to her sister who is addressed as *priya darśanae*+name of the addressee+name of the correspondent+*arogi preṣeti bahu aparimana evaṃ ca* etc.

(ii) In no. 756, the relationship of the addressee and the correspondent is not clear. Of course the introductory portion is quite interesting i.e. *Bhaṭariyae priyadeva-manuśana picara sarvaśṛyagunakalpanasa p·· ya maduae* (i.e. the addressee) *prahuḍa meṣa* (or *meṭo*) *lahu manasiṃ-karo matra praharaśa.*

D. *Exchange of letters between near relations*: —

(i) *To a brother-in-law* (no. 83): —

Here the *priya sali*[19] is addressed in the common style "as dear in sight, worshipped by gods and men and whose good name is widely spread." Then follow the salutations and enquiry into the good health after referring to the names of the correspondent and the addressee.

(ii) *To a brother-in-law and sister jointly addressed* (no. 140): —

The style is somewhat similar to that in nos. 475 and 702 except the addition of the word *kcjalya* preceding *divya śarira pariprchyati.*

(iii) *From a person to his son-in-law and daughter jointly addressed* (*no.* 690): —

The correspondent is even writing to his son-in-law for latter's forgetfulness in not sending the presents to the former. It seems quite strange to find a father-in-law demanding some trifle things from his very son-in-law. The letter of course runs in an ordinary style.

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[19] Cf. *Acta Orientalia*, XII, p. 64 wherein F. W. Thomas opines that "*sali* =Skt. *syāla* and that the employment of the word *syāla* in hostile and friendly abuse is an Indian witticism".

E. *Letters conveying some happy news:—*

A certain person conveys the news of his son's birth to his parents thus—"And thus we report Ataṃśiyae[20] here has survived the pains of child-birth in safety and good health. A son has been born. You must all be pleased. So it will not be long before we (again) send health to your feet" (Trans, p. 141, no. 702—*iśa Ataṃśiae garbhaśalyade*[21] *sarva śvastichema aro pariṃugta, putra jata, sarvehi śatena bhavitavya, taha na cirasya hachati veyaṃ tumahu padamụla aroga samdhisechyama* etc.

F. *Condolence letter:—*

The following contents of a short note of condolence sent on the demise of a certain person are sufficient to deduce that death was taken quite natural and unavoidable i.e. "And now I have heard the bad news that Anasena is dead. As a result of that news we have experienced the shafts of great sorrow and grief in our hearts. That is something beyond the powers of a *Buddha* or *Pratyeka Buddha* or an *Arhat* or a universal monarch. All come to the same end. Care must be exercised how we go, virtuous acts performed and purity maintained (*Trans.*, pp. 81-2; no. 399 B. Rev.—*śrudemi Anasena mṛtaga, taha śrutagena amahu suṭha biḍiteya saṃdapaśogaśalya huda taha na śakya kartu budha na pratyekabudha na arhaṃta na rayacakravarti sarvi pariniyaṃti gamaṃni saṃprajya kartavya kujala kartavya brahmacariṭa* (Cf. Language, p. 129).

This is in nutshell a short account of the family letters from Central Asia.*

RATNA CHANDRA AGRAWALA

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[20] Wife of the correspondent.

[21] Escape from the pangs of pregnancy was a moment of great relief for the relations,

* Paper submitted to be read in Section I of the Indian History Congress held at Waltair in Dec. 1953.

The Liberal Policy in Afganisthan during 1880-84

The Afghan policy of the Liberal Government during 1880-84 is generally understood to have been "based on the principle of inverting and reversing...the action of their predecessors".[1] Lytton's pet theory of disintegration of Afganisthan was discarded and the question of placing a British Resident at Kabul was dropped. Instead, Shere Ali, the English nominee at Kandahar, was pensioned off to Karachi, and the British troops were eventually withdrawn from Afganisthan. Abdur Rahaman, whom the Conservatives had placed upon the throne of .Kabul, was recognised as the Amir of Afganisthan, while a Muslim agent was appointed at Kabul in accordance with the treaty of 1855.[2] The Amir, of course, agreed not to enter into relations with a third power except with the consent of the English Government, and was granted in return an annual subsidy which was subsequently raised to 12 lakhs of rupees.

On the face of it, therefore, the Viceroyalty of Lord Ripon appears to have seen a reversion to the policy of non-interference in Afganisthan. In fact, while Lytton was seeking to carry out his policy of dismemberment, the Liberals loudly opposed it, and with Sir William Harcourt as their fugleman, averred that "nothing was to be expected but disaster if you forsook in any particular the strict Lawrence doctrine of non-interference in Afganisthan".[3] Ripon was indeed sent to India to give effect to the Queen's Declaration "that the occupation of Kandahar shall not be permanently maintained".[4] After his arrival in India the Viceroy was informed by the Secretary of State that "Her Majesty's Government have deliberately adopted the view that the true defence of India consists not in the acquisition of strategic positions at a greater or less distance from the frontier, nor in competition with any other power for influence in Central Asia...".[5]

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[1] From Lytton's speech in the House of Lords, Jan. 10, 1881, *Hansard*, 1881, CCLVII, p. 285.

[2] *Parliamentary papers*, 1877-78, Vol. LVI, p. 376.

[3] Buckle's *Life of Disraeli*, Vol. VI, p. 482.

[4] *Hansard*, 1881, Vol. CCLVII, p. 4.

But the Viceroy with the concurrence of the Ministry at Home, made a settlement, which the Conservatives, if they were longer in power, might themselves have effected. That they opposed to the last the liberal policy of withdrawal from Kandahar seems to have been a mere party quibble. In fact, the theory of disintegration was a new departure from the Conservative policy. No English Government, whether Conservative or Liberal, had ever desired the dismemberment of Afganisthan. Since the First Afghan War the English policy had been to help establish a friendly and independent State of the Afghans. This policy was suggested and held even by the framers and advocates of the Forward Policy like Jacob[6] and Rawlinson[7], Roberts[8] and Sandeman[9]. Jacob and Rawlinson further suggested that an advance should be made to Quetta in the direction of what Roberts called the "no man's land which lies on our immediate frontier."[10] Lord Lytton too had never seriously contemplated the occupation of Kandahar, and was highly satisfied by the annexation of Quetta. "I do not consider," he wrote referring to the annexation of Kandahar, "that such occupation would greatly strengthen our western frontier."[11]

It was only to cover the folly of the Second Afghan War that Lytton adopted the theory of disintegration. The theory was his own and occurred to him after the assassination of Cavagnari, the Resident at Kabul. Yet, whatever turn Lytton might have taken after this unhappy incident, there is no doubt that the Treaty of Gandamak[12] was the apogee of his Afghan policy. That treaty had secured to the English an effective control over the Amir of Afganisthan and the two advanced posts of Pishin and Sibi. The Forward School acclaimed the treaty as having attained a great triumph. Yet, the treaty was rejected, and the policy of disintegration adopted, because the Kabul massacre, as Lytton argued[13] had irrevocably cancelled the Gandamak Treaty. It is however, very difficult to understand how the entire purpose of the Treaty of Gandamak could be defeated by the failure of one single clause. Too much, indeed, seems to have been made of the assassination of Cavagnari!

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[5] From the Despatch of Hartington to Ripon, 3rd December, 1880, *Parl. Papers*, 1881, LXX, 237-39.

[6] *Views and Opinions*, p. 374-85.

[7] *England & Russia in the East*, pp. 263-92.

[8] Speech on Forward Policy in the House of Lords, March 7, 1898, *Hansard*, 1898, LIV, pp. 750-62.

[9] Memorandum on Kandahar, *Parl. Papers*, 1881, LXX, pp. 272-74.

[10] *Hansard*, 1898, LIV, p. 752.

[11] *Parl. Papers*, Afganisthan (1881) No. 2, p. 9.

[12] *Parl. Papers*, 1878-79, LVI, 691-93.

Naturally, therefore, Lytton's new policy was not welcomed even by the Conservatives themselves. Their leader, Lord Beaconsfield, referred to it as "premature"[14] and Lord Salisbury doubted if it could "be a permanent arrangement."[15] As a matter of fact, the Second Afghan war was considered "quite unnecessary"[16] by Beaconsfield, while Salisbury complained that the Viceroy had forced "the hands of the Government".[17] The Cabinet had entered upon the war with great reluctance, and reluctantly they came round to Lytton's view of disintegration. Yet, once the die was cast, the policy of Lytton "must be supported—and supported as the Queen urged and Beaconsfield agreed with as much cordiality as if there had been no initial difference of opinion".[18]

That was because the last months of the 1874 Parliament were very critical and uneasy. Among other things, the anarchy in Afganisthan raised a storm of protest in the House of Commons. There was a talk of impending dissolution of the English Parliament and the Liberals began to prepare for a General Election. Gladstone's Midlothian Campaign made a very favourable impression upon the country, so much so, that "his tremendous projectiles had pounded the ministerial citadel to the ground, and......he had a nation at his back. What had been vague misgiving about Lord Beaconsfield grew into sharp certainty; shadows of doubt .....became substantive condemnation."[19] Beaconsfield, however, pretended a rare nonchalance as he wrote to Lady Bradford on Nov. 28, 1879, "all this (i.e. Glandstone's Midlothian Campaign) was planned on the wild assumption that Parliament was going to be dissolved……whereas…Parlt. will not probably be dissolved till the year after the next."[20] But the dissolution came three months, and not two years, later!

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[13] *Vide* his speech in the House of Lords, Jan. 10, 1881, *Hansard*, 8881, CCLVII, 293.

[14] In a letter to the Queen dt. Oct. 23, 1879. Buckle's *Disraeli*, VI, 482.

[15] Letter to Lord Dufferin dt. Dec. 4, 1880, Lady Cecil's *Life of Salisbury*, Vol. II, p. 377.

[16] Buckle, *op. cit.*, p. 388.

[17] *Ibid.*, p. 387.

[18] *Ibid.*, p. 388.

In fact, Beaconsfield knew in his heart of hearts that his party had lost the confidence of the country and Gladstone had really "a nation at his back". That is why he hastened to effect a settlement in Afganisthan, "so that," as Beaconsfield wrote to the Queen on Dec. 5, 1879, "we may meet Parliament with a distinct policy."[21] At the same time, Dec. 5, 1879, Gladstone was passing an "overpowering day"[22] at Midlothian. To try to explain it away as a mere coincidence would be psychologically foolish. On Beaconsfield's own confession the Conservative Party was suspected by the nation of "hesitation and feebleness,"[23] because they had no distinct and definitive policy in Afganisthan. So, when the Liberals were carrying on a vigorous campaign, the Conservatives proceeded to work out a rough-and-ready settlement, being unnerved by the prospect of a Liberal victory at the polls.

The new policy proposed to give Kabul and Kandahar to two independent chiefs and Herat to Persia. Obviously, the arrangement was neither practicable nor desirable. No ruler of Kabul could easily reconcile himself to the loss of Kandahar and yet remain a friend of the British Government. The Kandaharis were not well-disposed towards the English, while with Persia England's relation was never unceasingly cordial. Hitherto, the English Government had found it difficult to exercise influence over only one chief. How could they now hope to control three different rulers? But then, the policy was adopted, as the Conservatives maintained, for the apparent absence of a chief who could unite and rule over the whole of Afganisthan. If so, the Conservatives could very well proclaim their intention to

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[19] Morley's *Gladstone*, Vol. II, p. 594.

[20] Buckle, *op. cit.*, p. 503.

[21] *Ibid.*, p. 484.

[22] Morley, *op. cit.*, p. 590.

[23] Letter to the Queen, dt. Oct. 23, 1879, Buckle, *op. cit.*, p. 482.

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withdraw from Afganisthan while continuing to hold it in their effort to find out a suitable chief for the whole country.

On a broader view, the disintegration of Afganisthan was the least desirable. Admittedly, the whole Afghan question was subordinate to the problem of "the safety of the Indian Empire"[24] against foreign aggression. As possible invaders, Afganisthan and Persia were of little or no account. The only source of danger, if at all, was Russia. But the dismemberment of Afganisthan would have facilitated the very object which it was the desire of the British Government to check. The one very sure result of disintegration would have been anarchy in Afganisthan, which, in its turn, would have afforded Russia the opportunity of fishing in troubled waters. With Persia in Herat, Russian interests in Central Asia would have received an impetus rather than a set back. It is futile to presume that friendship with Afganisthan was no longer possible after the Second Afghan War because, as Sandeman had rightly pointed out, "the people showed no determined hostility towards us until we deported the Amir Yakub Khan"[25] and adopted the policy of dismemberment. The theory of disintegration could indeed work with little or no chance of success. Even its author frankly confessed the "indefinite"[26] character of his policy, "which was subject to such modification as may hereafter be dictated by increased knowledge and experience."[27]

Viewed in this perspective, the withdrawal of the British Resident from Kabul and the retrocession of Kandahar were two very expedient measures calculated to secure the British interests in Afganisthan. The demand for a British envoy was made the least necessary by the control over the foreign relations of the Amir and the appointment of a Muslim agent at Kabul. The retrocession of Kandahar, however, was opposed by the Conservatives on political, financial and strategic grounds. But, while the burden of proof lay with the Conservatives, as they had gone out of the way to annex a large territory in Afganisthan, the Opposition failed to prove its case, and was defeated in the House of Commons on March 26, 1881, by 336 votes to 216.

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[24] From Lytton's letter to the Secretary of State dt. 7 Jan. 1880, *Parl. Papers*, 1881, LXX, 42-46.

[25] Memorandum on Afganisthan, *Parl. Papers*, 1881, LXX, 272-74.

[26] From Lytton's letter to the Secy. of State, *Parl. Papers*, 1881, LXX, 42-46.

[27] *Ibid*.

Politically, it was argued, the retrocession of Kandahar would lower the prestige of the British Government in India and abroad because it would be "regarded as a confession of weakness, fear and instability of purpose...."[28] Secondly, the British rule "would be popular...with the people of Kandahar"[29] as the Kandaharis were 'tired of the Barakzai rule.'[30] Thirdly, Abdur Rahaman was showing "undisguised leanings towards Russia,"[31] and hence it was necessary to keep a watch upon him from the neighbourhood.

It is, however, very difficult to understand how the prestige of England could suffer in India by the withdrawal from Kandahar. After that the murder of Cavagnari and the disaster of Maiwand had been sufficiently avenged, the withdrawal was instead more likely to inspire admiration and confidence amongst the Indians. During the First Afghan War the English had held Afganisthan, but they withdrew when the war was over, not out of fear or weakness but on the ground of rational policy. By the Treaty of Gandamak the same policy was once again adopted by the Conservatives. On what ground, therefore, did they now presume that the evacuation of Kandahar would affect British prestige in India? Besides, as Sir Henry Norman, War Secretary & Member, Ripon's Executive Council, said, "I do not see why this should be alleged of Kandahar more than of Kabul, the retirement from which place seems to have been followed by no such result."[32] On the other hand, both in India and abroad the position of the English was more likely to be strengthened by the knowledge that they were not "embarrassed by complications beyond our Indian frontier."[33]

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[28] Minute of Whiteley Stokes, Member, Ripon's Executive Council, dt. Jan. 31, 1881, *Parl. Papers*, 1881, Vol. LXX, pp. 251-53.

[29] *Ibid.*

[30] General Stewart's Memorandum on Kandahar. *Parl. Papers*, 1881, LXX, 173-74.

[31] Minute of Rivers Thompson, Member, Ripon's Executive Council, dt. Feb. 24, 1881, *Parl. Papers*, 1881, LXX, 240-44.

[32] Memorandum on Kandahar. *Parl. Papers*, 1881, LXX, pp. 180-81.

[33] From the Memorandum of E. Baring—*Ibid.*, pp. 213-23.

That the Kandaharis themselves desired British rule is a make-believe which does not merit much consideration. Sir Alfred Lyall.[34] Sir Henry Norman,[35] General Stewart,[36] and Lord Roberts[37]—men who had personal knowledge of the temper of the Afghans—agree on the point that the Kandaharis were hateful of the English and could, therefore, never desire their rule. Whether the Kandaharis were "tired of the Barakzai rule," and if so, how much indeed they disliked the Kabulis, are matters of conjecture. True, that Kabul and Kandahar had, at times, remained separated, yet they were "looked upon by the whole nation as constituting integral parts of one Kingdom"[38] and had been really so under the Amirs Dost Muhammad and Shere Ali.

The charge against Abdur Rahaman of complicities with Russia is unfounded in so far as there was no "distinct proof of the Sirdar's duplicity."[39] On the contrary, the Amir, though an erstwhile pensioner of Russia, had been eager—as is evident from his correspondence with Griffin, the Chief Political Officer, Northern and Eastern Afganisthan[40]—to enter into a subordinate alliance with the Government of India and never preferred a Russian alliance to the English. That it was so was acknowledged by Griffin himself when he wrote to General Stewart, "He (Abdur Rahaman) had publicly, privately, by letters, circulars, and in public speeches in his daily durbars, declared his firm intention of making friendly arrangements with the British Government."[41] Further, the idea of undermining political intrigues at Kabul from Kandahar was a fond hope which was inconsistent with the recent experiences in Afganistan. During the latest occupation of Kandahar the Liberal Government received no informations from Kabul except those that "the Afghans themselves voluntarily conveyed."[42] The late Government had a still further bitter experience. On Sept. 2, 1879, Major Cavagnari, referring to the conditions in Afganisthan, cabled to the Viceroy "all well". Yet, surprisingly, the very next day, Sept. 3, the British Embassy at Kabul was massacred!

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[34] Memorandum of Sir Alfred Lyall—*Ibid.*, pp. 277-79.

[35] Sir Henry Norman's note on Kandahar—*Ibid.*, pp. 196-201.

[36] Memorandum of General Stewart—*Ibid*, pp. 173-74.

[37] Memorandum of Lord Roberts—*Ibid.*, p. 106.

[38] From the speech of Earl of Derby in the House of Lords on March 3, 1881, *Hansard*, 1881, Vol. CCLIX. p. 106.

[39] From Ripon's letter to Hartington dt. 27 July, 1880, *Parl. Papers*, 1881, LXX, pp. 81-83.

[40] *Parliamentary Papers*, 1881, LXX, pp. 85-86.

[41] Letter dt. Kabul, 4th August, 1880, *Parl. Papers*, 1881, LXX, 89.

[42] *Hansard*, 1881, CCLIX, p. 1864.

Financially, the Conservatives tried to assert, Kandahar would prove no burden, because irrigation and agriculture which "would extend under our rule"[43] would yield a fair revenue and "the financial benefit of increasing our trade with Persia and Central Asia"[44] would be considerable. The Conservatives, however, did not produce any comprehensive estimate except that of Col. St. John[45] which showed a surplus revenue of Rs. 6,00,000 in Kandahar. The controversy ultimately centred round the moderate estimate of Sir Henry Norman, who calculated the cost of occupation at £1,400,000 per annum for the maintenance of a garrison of 15,000 strong, and inferred that even the surplus, anticipated by Col. St. John would leave us heavy losers.[46] Henry Norman based his calculations upon the ordinary cost of troops in India adding to it an extra cost of 100% for incidental charges, consequent upon occupation.

As against the estimate of Sir Henry Norman the Conservatives argued that no more than "12,000 or 13,000 men would be required"[47] for the occupation of Kandahar, and that too not in "addition to the force of India".[48] And, instead of Sir Henry Norman's 100% an extra cost of 50%[49] would be enough to meet the incidental charges of occupation. But the recent experiences in Afganisthan proved just the contrary of what the Conservatives tried to assert. General Primrose's army of 12,000 men, all beyond the old frontier, proved inadequate when Ayub Khan marched upon Kandahar. To suggest, therefore, that a Russian advance could be held in check by less than 15,000 men is futile. Presuming that the Kandahar force, if less

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43 & 44 From the Minute of Whiteley Stokes, Member, Ripon's Executive Council dt. Jan. 31, 1881. *Parl. Papers*, 1881, LXX, 251-57.

[45] *Parl. Papers*, 1881, LXX, 246-248.

[46] *Ibid.*, pp. 196-201.

[47] From the speech of Marquis of Salisbury in the House of Lords, 3rd March, 1881, *Hansard*, 1881, CCLIX, p. 120.

[48] *Ibid.*

[49] *Vide* the speech of Stanhope in the House of Commons, 24th March, 1881. *Hansard*, 1881 CCLIX, p. 1839.

than 15,000 strong, could be supplemented in the hour of need by the Forces in India, this would have been tantamount to exposing the country to dangers within. The 100% extra cost, estimated by Sir Henry Norman, was no exaggeration as even it did not include the cost for barracks, fortifications and railways—items that the Conservatives themselves regarded as essential for retaining Kandahar.[50]

As a matter of fact, in making estimates it is always wiser to take the highest, and the Conservatives too were aware of this. The total cost of the last Afghan war was out of all proportion to the estimate of the Conservatives, so much so, that Lytton had to cable home on 8th April, 1880, "Outgoing from our treasury for the war very alarming, far exceeding estimate."[51] What is more, even the £1,500,000 was far too heavy for the resources of India and it could be only met by public debts and additional taxes. This was sure to provoke discontent among the Indians, and, as the Afghan problem was subordinate to the question of safety of the Indian Empire, the retention of Kandahar on financial grounds was an absurdity. Frontier or no frontier, there could hardly be any security for the Empire in India, save in the contentment and happiness of its people.

Commercially, too, Kandahar did not hold out any bright prospect, first, because the Central Asian trade could scarcely be controlled from there, as the trade dues were levied not at Kandahar but at Herat, Maimaneh and Balkh; and secondly, because the balance of trade between Kandahar and India was not all too favourable to the former. It showed a deficit in 1879-80 and though there was a surplus in Kandahar's favour in each of the financial years 1877-78 and 1878-79,[52] it was insignificant when compared to the cost of occupation as estimated by Sir Henry Norman. The retention of Kandahar was in the nature of an insurance against a remote, if possible, contingency, but the premium proposed was rather too high for the risk covered.

On grounds of strategy, the Conservatives averred, the occupation of Kandahar was of imperative necessity. The Herat-Kandahar road was "the only...from Central Asia to India along which wheeled carriages and heavy guns can be moved......Russia will soon be at

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[50] *Vide* the Memorandum of Napier of Magdala. *Parl. Papers*, 1881. LXX, pp. 223-25.

[51] *Parl. Papers*, (Afg.) 1880, C2560, p. 69.

[52] *Parl. Papers*, 1881, LXX, p. 248.

Merv and then unless we show an unflinching front, she will occupy Herat, which as we know to our cost, is within striking distance of Kandahar."[53] With Russia at Herat, the Conservatives believed, the safety of the Indian Empire would be at stake.

Yet, to prevent any invasion by Russia, either alone or in alliance with Afganisthan, the retention of Kandahar was equally unnecessary. If Russia was to force a passage through Afganisthan she was sure to be opposed by the Afghans, and in that case, the English could go to Afganisthan as her ally. If, however, an alliance with Afganisthan was feasible—and what better cause than the retention of Kandahar could throw the Afghans into the pocket of Russia?—it could yet be of little help to the Czarist Government. The march from Herat was long and difficult, and Afganisthan produced little beyond what was necessary for the support of her own people. An advance through Afganisthan, therefore, involved a great privation for the invading army which could be increased by the retrocession of Kandahar, because the longer the line of communication the greater would have been the difficulties of Russia. Besides, as Sir Henry Norman said, "our being at Kandahar would not prevent Russia from advancing upon Herat if she desired to do so. An occupation of Herat could only be prevented by our sending a considerable army there, and not by remaining at Kandahar."[54] In fact, the occupation of Kandahar would have pledged the Government to an offensive attitude and unlimited responsibilities. It was in the nature of a risky experiment which was not worth the trial as a measure of safety against a contingency, whose possibility was remote and character uncertain.

If, however, Kandahar was relinquished, the Liberal Government retained Pishin and Sibi in violation of their original scheme to acquire no "strategic positions at a greater or less distance from the frontier."[55] The advanced posts, secured by the Treaty of Gandamak, were now retained as they constituted "in most respects a satisfactory frontier, and in that position we can lay our hands on Kandahar at any moment"[56].

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[53] From the Minute of Stokes, Member, Ripon's Executive Council, *Parl. Papers*, 1881, LXX, pp. 251-53.

[54] Memorandum of Henry Norman, *Parl. Papers*, 1881, LXX, pp. 196-201.

[55] Hartington's Despatch to Ripon, *Ibid.*, pp. 237-39.

[56] Memorandum of General Stewart—*Ibid.*, pp. 173-73.

Not only that, the Amir had earlier agreed to conduct his foreign relations with the advice of the British Government. This was secured against the deliberate objective of Her Majesty's Government not to enter into "competition with any other power for influence in Central Asia."[57] The Liberals thus effected a settlement which was an exact replica of the Treaty of Gandamak except in one negligible particular. The Treaty of 1879 was certainly the high water mark of the Forward policy, the object of which was to secure British influence in Afganisthan and extend the North-West Frontier of British India upto its logical limits. Of that policy the annexation of Quetta was the first step; the retention of Pishin was the next step forward in the same direction; and, the creation of the Durand Line and the Frontier Province was its ultimate consummation.

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[57] Hartington's Despatch to Ripon—*Ibid.*, pp. 237-39.

Suśruta, Caraka and Bharata

Vyabhicāribhāvas in Nāṭya-śāstra and their background in the old Science of physiology and pathology of Āyurveda.

The subject introduced in this paper is that aesthetic enjoyment is essentially a function partly of man's mental and spiritual nature and partly also of his physical (biological and physiological) side.

The basic relation between Bharata's *Nāṭya-śāstra* and the old Science of physiology and pathology of the Āyurveda of Caraka and Suśruta is of very great interest and importance in the history of Aesthetics in India. In recent times, such an attempt has been made by I. A. Richards[1] to relate aesthetic enjoyment to human physiology, and to nervous system in general. The field of enquiry has immense possibilities. Our contention is that it is not possible to understand properly important basic concepts of Bharata's *Rasa-Sūtra* without knowing Suśruta and Caraka.

The terms describing the essence of Rasa, viz, *rasana*, *carvana* or *āsvāda* referring etymologically to the physical pleasure of taste, the origin and the purification process involved in the development of Rasa (उत्पत्ति leading to निष्पत्ति) and the six Rasas (मधुर, अम्ल, लवण, तिक्त, कटु, कषाय) associated with taste—all these elements treated in Bharata, Suśruta and Caraka, leave no room for any doubt about Āyurveda being a fundamental basis of Bharata's *Nāṭya-śāstra*. In the present paper, we propose to discuss Bharata's *Vyabhicāribhāva*, one particular aspect of this derivation and to show how deeply Indian medical science coloured Indian aesthetic speculations.

Bharata's *Rasa-sūtra*, विभावानुभावव्यभिचारिसंयोगाद्रसनिष्पत्तिः (ch. 6) knows of only three constituent elements. It is by their union or bringing together that Rasa is made manifest or produced. These constituent elements have most often been taken as simple mental moods, which the Muni was the first to formulate and systematise. Later interpretation of the Muni's sūtra has leaned more and more to the psychological aspect[2] of Rasa-realisation. This line of investigation, inspite of its intrinsic merit, completely loses sight of Bharata's background, which is in reality not so much psychological, as it is physiological and pathological in outlook. His analysis of the *Vyabhicāribhāvas*, to which we confine our attention here, will amply bear out our contention.

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[1] *Principles of Literary Criticism* (First published, 1924); *Practical Criticism.*

The clue to Bharata's enumeration of the Vyabhicāribhāvas on the lines of Indian medicine is provided by Suśruta and Caraka, both of whom recognize that body and mind are equally affected in diseases. Suśruta in a remarkable passage insists upon the essential similarity of diseases of the body and of the mind. He admits that both body and mind are seats of diseases, and how bodily diseases affect the mind, and *vice versa*. Suśruta writes in the Sūtra-Sthānam (1. 20),

शरोरास्त्वन्नपानमुला वात-पित्त-कफ-शोनित-सन्निपातवैषम्यनिमित्ताः। मानसास्तु क्रोध-शोक-मय-हर्ष विषादेष्यीभ्यसूया-दैन्य-मात्सर्य-लोभ-काम प्रभृतय इच्छाद्वेषभेदैर्भवन्ति। स्वाभाविकाः क्षुत्पिपासा जरामृत्युनिद्राप्रभृतयेः। त एते मनःशरीराधिष्ठानाः।

Diseases of the body result from an unbalance of the three principles of वात, पित्त and कफ. Anger or Sorrow, Fear or Delight which move the mind are as if diseases of the mind. Caraka puts it a little differently. While mentioning an unbalance of वात, पित्त and कफ as the cause of bodily diseases, Caraka generalises mental diseases and traces these to the preponderance of either रजस् or तमस् (Sūtra-sthānam. 1). Caraka and Suśruta's view-point with regard to mental diseases or disorders has a very important bearing on our Alaṁkāra literature. Caraka is even more definite in his concept of this interchangeability of disease of the body and of the mind. In Cikitsā-sthānam, ch. 3, Caraka says that both body and mind may be equally affected with fever.

ज्वरप्रात्यात्मिकं लिंगं सन्तापो देहमानसः।
ज्वरेणाविशता भूतं न हि किंचिन्न तप्यते॥
द्विविधो विधिभेदेन ज्वर शारीरमानसः।
पुनश्च द्विविधो दृष्टः सौम्यश्चाग्नेय एव च॥ (Ślokas 14-15)

If diseases of the body and of the mind are thus essentially similar how are we to distinguish one from the other? Caraka makes a very obvious distinction, *viz*.. that diseases of the body are first indicated in the body itself, and affect the mind secondarily, while diseases of the mind in the first place affect primarily the mind. In Cikitsā-sthānam, ch. 3, Caraka writes,

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[2] *Psychological Basis of Alaṁkāra Literature*—Prof. Sivaprasad Bhattacharyya (Sir Ashutosh Mukherjee Silver Jubilee, Vol. III, Orientalia, Part 2).

शरीरो जायते पूर्वं देहे मनसि मानसः ।
वैचित्त्यमरतिर्ग्लानिर्मनसन्तापलक्षणम् ॥
इन्द्रियाणां च वैकृत्यं देहे सन्तापलक्षणम् ॥ (51.16)

Sāradātanaya, the author of *Bhāva-prakāśanam* speaks of this inter-relation of body and mind almost on the lines of Caraka and Suśruta. He explains this inter-relation with the help of Sāṁkhya philosophy.

जीवः शरीराधिष्ठाता तन्नियच्छन् स्वकर्मभिः ।
कर्त्ता भवति सर्वस्य शरीरेण सह स्वयम् ॥

... ...

बुद्धिचित्ताहंकृतयः तस्य त्रिगुणसंभवाः ।
सर्वेषामपि जीवानां सर्वव्यापारहेतवः ॥
तस्मादविकृतादाद्यः स्पन्दो भाव उदाहृतः ।
चित्तस्याविकृतिः सत्त्वं विकृते कारणे सति ॥
ततोऽल्पा विकृतिर्भावो वीजस्यादिविकारवत् ।
अतो मनोविकारस्य भावत्वं प्रकटीकृतम् ॥

(*Bhāva-prakāśa*, G.O.S. Adhikāra I. p. 7-8)

This inter-relation of body and mind,[3] or the pathological basis of mental moods, is much deeper and wider in Bharata, than what is to be found in Sāradātanaya. But Sāradātanaya is still aware of this pathological background of Rasa in literature.

The integration of the physiological and pathological functions of the body with mental moods or states is precisely what Bharata has been doing in his—study of *Vyabhicāribhāvas*. He has before him certain diseases and their symptoms; he takes them over, and applies them as characteristic symptoms of certain mental moods, on the lines of Caraka and Suśruta. There has been here only a transference of planes of reference, but the essential position remains

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[3] This interlink between body and mind, between the gross and subtle being of man, has attracted the notice of eminent western physicians, including Dr. Hahnemann. Good poets and eminent critics have also taken note of it. Housman in his "Name and Nature of Poetry" says, "Poetry seems to me more physical than intellectual,"

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the same. In certain cases, it will be seen that Bharata has practically no choice, but only repeats what we find in Caraka and Suśruta.

Bharata's theoretical position with regard to the *vyabhicāribhāvas* is most possibly coloured by Caraka's Śārīra-sthānam, ch. 4. Caraka discusses here how the mind of man is being coloured and shaped even at the moment of inception by physiological considerations. Caraka categorically says शरीरं हि सत्त्वमनुविधीयते, सत्त्वं च शरीरम् (Śārīra-sthānam, ch. 4. 16). Cakrapāṇidatta in explaining the passage, writes सत्त्वानुरूपं शरीरं भवति, यदि शुद्धसत्त्वं भवति, तदा देवादि शरीरं भवति इत्यादि, तथा शरीरानुरूपं च सत्त्वं भवति। यथा पशुशरीरे तामसम्, मनुष्यशरीरे राजसम्, देवशरीरे सात्त्विकमिति ज्ञेयम्। Caraka then goes on describing the different sattvas ब्राह्मसत्त्व, याम्यसत्त्व, वारुणसत्त्व, ऐन्द्रसत्त्व. कौवेरसत्त्व among the सात्त्विकसत्त्व; आसुरसत्त्व, राक्षससत्त्व, पैशाचसत्त्व etc. among the राजससत्त्व ; and पाशवसत्त्व, मात्स्यसत्त्व among the तामससत्त्व। Caraka insists that in each case, the body or physical appearance is similar to the *sattva* inside. For instance, the ब्राह्मसत्त्व has a ब्राह्मकाय, and the याम्यसत्त्व has a याम्यकाय, and so on.

This integration of the body and the mind in Caraka, and the possible awareness that the body is what the mind makes it, quite likely provided the necessary background of Bharata's concept of Vyabhicāribhāvas. This integration runs through Caraka as also through Suśruta (Śārīrasthānam, ch. 4)[4].

This integration in Indian medical speculations is remarkable in that it also visualised how Vāyu, Pitta and Kapha on the physical plane, become Sattva, Rajas and Tamas, and ultimately the cause of pleasure or pain, and indeed of the whole gamut of emotional experience.

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[4] We have seen how in modern times this integration has been carried still further, particularly by Dr. Hahnemann. "It is the morbidly affected vital force alone that produces diseases, so that the morbid phenomena (व्यभिचारिभाव) perceptible to our senses, express at the same time all the internal change, that is to say, the whole morbid derangement of the internal dynamis" (Organon, Art. 12). Again, "our vital force as a spiritlike dynamis cannot be attacked and affected by injurious influences on the healthy organism caused by the external inimical forces that disturb the harmonious play of life, otherwise than in a spirit-like (dynamic) way, and in like manner, all such morbid derangements (diseases) cannot be removed from it by the physician in any other way than by the spirit-like (dynamic, virtual) alterative powers of the serviceable medicines acting upon our spirit-like vital force" (Organon, Art. 16).

II

We now turn to a detailed analysis of Bharata's *Vyabhicāribhāvas*, and their origin in the medical treatises of Caraka and Suśruta.

Bharata in a remarkable passage (ch. 24, śl. 13-15) says almost like a medical man, how the mind of man is shaped and moulded by habit, or more accurately how mind determines our physiognomy, or bodily features. Bharata's text cannot be properly appreciated if we at the same time, do not take into consideration, its derivation from Caraka and Suśruta. Bharata's theoretical position is essentially the same as Caraka's.

In the passage referred to, Bharata discusses the nature (=शील) of the female characters in Rūpaka.

इह प्रायेण लोकोऽयं शुभमिच्छति नित्यशः ।
सुखस्य च स्त्रियो मूलं नानाशीलाश्च ताः पुनः ॥
देवतासुरगन्धर्वरक्षोनागपतत्त्रिणाम् ।
पिशाचयक्षव्यालानां नरवानरहस्तिनाम् ॥
मृगमीनोष्ट्रमकरवनसुकरवाजिनाम् ।
महिषाजगवादीनां तुल्यशीलाः स्त्रियः स्मृताः ॥ (Ch. 24. 13-15)

It will be seen that all the eight dispositions or characters discussed by Bharata are in reality borrowed from Ch. 4 of Śārīra-sthānam of Caraka. Bharata discusses in Ch. 24, the following characters गान्धर्वसत्त्व (Sl. 96-97) and आसुरसत्त्व (Sl. 98-99), राक्षससत्त्व (Sl. 102-4), सार्पसत्त्व (Sl. 105), वानस्पत्यसत्त्व (Sl. 106-7), पैशाचसत्त्व (Sl. 108-9) and आर्यसत्त्व (Sl. 110-11). Over and above these, Bharata discusses वानरसत्त्व and हस्तिसत्त्व among the पाशवसत्त्व in Caraka.

Bharata's concept of dispositions or characters (= शील) is based on medicinal speculations. We take up only Bharata's discussion of आसुरसत्त्व, गान्धर्वसत्त्व and राक्षससत्त्व, and note how these are derived from the treatment of Caraka.

Bharata characterises आसुरसत्त्व thus:

अधर्मशाठ्याभिरता स्थिरक्रोधातिनिष्ठुरा ।
मद्यमांसप्रिया नित्यं कोपना चातिमानिनी ॥
चपला चातिलुब्धा च परुषा कलहप्रिया ।
इर्ष्याशीला चलस्नेहा चासुरं शीलमास्थिताः ॥

Caraka writes : शूरं चंडमसूयकमैश्वर्यवन्तमोदरिकं रौद्रमननु कोशकमात्मपूजकमासुरं विद्यात् । (Śārīra-sthānam, 4. 18) Suśruta writes:

ऐश्वर्यवन्तं रौद्रं च शूरं चंडमसूयकम् ।
एकाशिनं चौदरिकमासुरं सत्त्वमीदृशम् ॥

(Śārīra-sthāṇam 4. 74)

It will be seen that both Caraka and Suśruta equally lay stress on the infuriated nature of the āsura sattva man. Both emphasize again his gluttony (=औदरिक), and his envious nature (=असुयक), qualities which we find in Bharata's enumeration: ill temper (=नित्यं कोपना), gluttony (=मद्यमांसप्रिया, अतिलुब्धा), and envious nature (=इर्ष्याशीला),

Bharata characterises गान्धर्वसत्त्व as follows: —

अनेकारामभोग्या च नखदन्तैः सुपुष्पितैः ।
स्मिताभाषिनी तन्वी मन्दचारा रतिप्रिया ॥
गीते वाद्ये च नृत्यं च हृष्टा मृजावतो ।
गान्धर्वशीला विज्ञेया स्निग्धत्वक्केशलोचना ॥ (Ch. 24, 100-101).

Describing the गान्धर्वसत्त्व disposition Caraka writes प्रियनृत्यगीतवादित्रोल्लापकं श्लोकाख्यायिकेतिहासपुराणेषु कुशलं गन्धमाल्यानुलेपनवसनस्त्रीविहार कामनित्यमनसूयकं गान्धर्वं विद्यात् (Śārīra-sthānam 4.17). The strong preference for music and dance, and love for floral decorations, and narration of anecdotes, are common alike in Caraka and Bharata's description of गान्धर्वसत्त्व man or woman.

Bharata goes on describing different characters and temperaments, the demon-like (Ch. 24. 102-3), the serpent-like (Ch. 24. 105), the tree-like (Ch. 24.106-7) and the devil-like (Ch. 24 108-9) and such other kinds. Caraka also described these characters almost in similar terms. The very striking resemblance in Caraka and Bharata's descriptions would not have been of much significance, were it not for the fact that it shows how much Bharata depended on them. It establishes beyond any doubt Bharata's awareness of the theoretical position of Caraka—शरीरं हि सत्त्वमनुविधीयते, सत्त्वं च शरीरम् ।

III

Bharata's analogy of the preparation of soups and drinks in explaining the origin of Rasa, is a case of guḍa-pāka, and purely medicinal in origin. In this sub-section, we take up a few Vyabhicāribhāvas of Bharata. We shall see how these are almost literally taken over from medical treatises. Bharata's borrowing of symptoms of physical diseases can only be explained if we remember the transference and interchangeability of physical and mental symptoms and diseases, pointed out by Caraka and Suśruta.

Bharata takes व्याधि and उन्माद as due to an unbalance of वात. It will be seen that the symptoms associated with Bharata's ज्वर (a variety of व्याधि) are all typically medicinal, and owe a great deal to Caraka. Bharata writes व्याधिर्नाम वातपित्तकफसन्निपातप्रभवः । तस्य ज्वरादयो विशेषाः । ज्वरस्तु खलु, द्विविधः सशीतः, सदाहश्च । सशीतस्तावत् प्रवेपितसर्वांगोत्-कम्पनकुंचितहनुचलननासाविधुर्णनमुखशोषणरोमांचास्रानेक-परिदेवनादिभिरनुभावैरभिनयः प्रयोक्तव्यः । सदाहः पुनः विक्षिप्तवस्त्रकरचरणभूम्यभिलाषानुलेपन शीताभिलाषपरिदेवितोत्क्रुष्टादिभिः । ये चान्येऽपि व्याधयः तेऽपि खलु, मुखविघूर्णनगात्रस्तम्भनिःश्वसनस्तनितोत्क्रुष्टवेपनपरिदेवनादिभिरनुभावैरभिनेयाः । (Benares Ed. Ch. 7, p.93). We do not overemphasize Bharata's statement that diseases are due to an unbalance of वातपित्तकफ which is obvious enough. What is more impottant is Bharata's distinction of ज्वर into two varieties, सशीत and सदाह । It should be noted that fever accompanied with shivering (सशीत in Bharata) is a वातज्वर, while fever accompanied with burning (सदाह in Bharata) is a पित्तज्वर । Bharata associates symptoms of वातज्वर as we find these in Caraka, with his concept of सशीतज्वर and those of पित्तज्वर with his concept of सदाहज्वर । The following extracts from Caraka's Nidāna-sthānam, Ch. I, will bear out our contention. It will be seen that Bharata borrows the characteristic details from Caraka's treatment of physical diseases, even when Bharata is writing exclusively on mental moods and sentiments.

The symptoms of वातज्वर (which is Bharata's सशीत), as enumerated by Caraka are as follows: —

......हन्वोश्चाप्रसिद्धिः स्वनश्च कर्णयोः शङ्खयोर्निस्तोदः कषायास्यतास्यवैरस्यं वा, मुखतालुकंठशोषः पिपासा हृदयग्रह शुष्कच्छर्दिः शुष्ककासः क्षवथूद्गारविनिग्रहोऽन्तरसखेदः...... विषादजृम्भाविनामवेपथु श्रमभ्रमप्रलाप प्रजागरण रोमहर्षदन्तहर्षास्तशोषांभिप्रियता...... वातज्वरलिंगानि भवन्ति ।

(Nidāna-sthānam, I. 12)

The symptoms of पित्तज्वर (which is Bharata's सदाह) as we find in Caraka are,

......पित्तच्छर्दनमतीसारोऽन्नद्वेषः सदनं स्वेदः प्रलापो रक्तकोठाभिनिर्वृत्ति शरीरे । हरितहारिद्रत्वं नखनयनवदनमूत्रपुरीषत्वचामत्यर्थमुष्मणस्तीव्रभावोऽतिमात्रं दाहः शीताभिप्रायता......

(Nidāna-sthānam, I. 13.).

In Cikitsā-sthānam (III. 159), we have,

पौष्करेषु सुशीतेषु पद्मोत्पलदलेषु च ।
कदलीनां च पत्रेषु क्षौमेषु विमलेषु च ॥
चन्दनोदकशीतेषु दाहार्त्तः संविशेत् सुखम् ।
हिमाम्बुपूर्णे सदने शीते धारागृहेऽपि वा ॥

In the passage on ज्वर cited from the *Nāṭya-śāstra*, Bharata speaks of भूम्यभिलाषानुलेपनशीताभिलाष. It appears that Bharata is thinking of भूस्वेद (Caraka-Sūtra-sthānam 14. 25). It might be interesting to note at this stage that this awareness of medicinal background was not confined to the Ālaṁkārikas and rhetoricians alone. Kālidāsa in "Abhijñāna-Śakuntalam" speaks of Śakuntalā's love-lornness, using almost the same terminology as that of Indian medicine. She lies on a flower-strewn cold slab of stone (=सकुसुमास्तरणां शिलापट्टमधिशयाना) ; her attendants fan her gently with lotus leaves (अवि सुहेदि दे णलिणी पत्तवादो Act. III). These passages are taken as evidence of Kālidāsa's knowledge of the science of love, or *Kāma-śāstra*. But more appropriately, these belong to medicine proper, and their application to *Kāma-śāstra* must have been of a later date.

We have seen how Bharata's treatment of ज्वर conforms to that of Caraka even in technical details. The following analysis of Bharata's treatment of उन्माद again follows in essential points that of उन्माद in Caraka. It will be found that Bharata's treatment is not fanciful, or the characteristics cited by him are not just arbitrary. The short kārikā describing उन्माद in Bharata is in a sense, a brief survey of all the varieties of madness, known to the medical men. Bharata says that madness is due to an unbalance of वातपित्तश्लेष्मा, and also to certain causes, like the death of a dear one, or the loss of wealth, etc.

उन्मादो नाम इष्टजनवियोगविभवनाशव्यसनाभिघातवातपित्तश्लेष्म प्रकोपादिर्विभावैरुत्पद्यते । तमनिमित्तहसितरुदितोतकृष्टासम्बन्धप्रलापशयनोपविष्टोत्थित प्रधावितनृत्यगीतपठितभष्मपांश्ववधूलन तृणनिर्माल्यकुचेलचोरघटशरावाभाराणाधारणोपभोगैरन्यैश्चानवहितचेष्टाकरणादिभिरनुभावैरभिनयेत् ।

"अनिमित्तहसितरुदित" and "नृत्यगीतपठित" in connection with उन्माद in Bharata echo almost verbatim Caraka's अस्थानहासस्मितनृत्यगीतवागंगविक्षेपणरोदनानि in Cikitsā-sthānam (Ch. 9. Sl. 7). These are, as we should note, symptoms of वातज उन्माद । पित्तज उन्माद occupies an equally prominent place in Bharata. "उत्क्रुष्ट" and "प्रधावित" in Bharata echo Caraka's

उन्मादयत्युग्रमनात्मकस्य हृदि स्थितं पूर्ववदाशु कुर्यात् ।
अमर्षसंरम्भविनम्रभावाः सन्तर्जनाभिद्रवनौष्ण्ययरोषाः ॥

(Cikitsā-sthānam, 9.8)

IV

Bharata refers to स्वेदचिकित्सा in many places, in connection with these vyabhicāribhāvas, आलस्य, हर्ष, आवेग and अमर्ष । But his treatment of स्वेदचिकित्सा in connection with आवेग deserves special attention. Bharata speaks here of the details of स्वेदचिकितसा, and goes so far as to distinguish between the two principal varieties—निरग्नि and अग्निकृत स्वेदचिकित्सा । Bharata's text runs like this: वातकृतं पुनरवगुंठनाच्चिमर्दन.... वर्षकृतं पुनः सर्वांगसम्पीडनप्रधावनशस्त्रशयमार्गणाद्रिभिः, अग्निकृतं नाम धूमकुलनेत्रांगसंकोचनविधूननातिकान्तापक्रान्तादिभिः (G.O.S.V.I, p. 367). Suśruta says कफमेदोऽन्विते वायौ निवातातपगुरुप्रावरणनियुद्धाध्वव्यायामभाराहरणामर्षैः स्वेदमुत्पादयेदिति (Cikitsā-sthānam, 32. 10). These all are निरग्निस्वेद । Bharata speaks of this kind of स्वेद in "सर्वांगसम्पीड़नप्रधावन..." Caraka also writes of ten kinds of स्वेद, of which quite a few find place in Bharata's enumeration. Caraka says

व्यायाम उष्णसदनं गुरुप्रावरणं क्षुधा ।
वहुपानं भयक्रोधावुपानाहाह वातपाः ॥
स्वेदयन्ति दशैतानि नरमग्निगुणादृते । (Sūtra-sthānam 14.29)

Bharata has in mind one or more of the thirteen varieties of अग्निस्वेद, enumerated in Caraka (Sūtra-sthānam, 14.15). Of these, जेन्ताकस्वेद, कर्षुस्वेद, कूपस्वेद and होलाकस्वेद are more important. Bharata thus refers to both अग्निकृतस्वेद and निरग्निस्वेद, the two varieties of स्वेदचिकित्सा, recognised in Caraka and Suśruta. It might be of interest to note at this stage that स्वेद due to अमर्ष (of which Suśruta speaks), has also been noticed by Bharata. We may refer to Bharata's treatment of the Vyabhicāribhāva, अमर्ष. The kārikā runs like this. तस्य शिरःकम्पनस्वेदाधोमुखविचिन्तनाध्यवसाय......etc. The śloka immediately following, has शिरः प्रकम्पस्वेदादौस्तं प्रयुंजीत नाट्यवित (6. 78b. Benares Ed). Bharata's analysis of शिरोरोग under अमर्ष again, is very close to Caraka's analysis of the same, under Ch. 17 of the Sūtra-sthānam. Caraka writes:

कट्वम्ललवणक्षारसंद्यक्रोधातपानलैः ।
पित्तं शिरसि संदुष्टं शिरोरोगाय कल्पते ॥
दह्यते तुद्यते तेन शिरःशीतं सुसूयते ।
दह्येते चक्षुषी तृष्णा भ्रमः स्वेदश्च जायते ॥ (9).

Again in Sūtra-sthānam (17. 6), Caraka says:—

प्रतिश्यामुखनासाक्षिकर्णरोगशिरोभ्रमाः ।
अर्दितं शिरसः कम्पो गलमन्याहनुग्रहः ।
विविधाश्चापरे रोगा वातादिक्रिमिसम्भवाः ।

Along with स्वेदचिकित्सा, Bharata refers to the symptoms of अक्षिमर्दण and नेत्रसंकुचन, which have been discussed in Caraka. Bharata's treatment of अपस्मार again, is almost literally taken over from medical treatises. Bharata, describing अपस्मार writes—

भूतपिशाचस्मरणग्रहणानुच्छिष्टशून्यगृहगमनात् ।
कालान्तरातिपातादशुचेश्च भवेद् ह्यपस्मारः ॥
सहसा भूमौ पतनं प्रकम्पनं वदनफेन मोक्षश्च ।
निःसञ्ज्ञाभ्युत्थानं रूपाण्येतान्यपस्मारे ॥ (7·73-74)·

These characteristics which Bharata cites, are similar to वातज and पित्तज अपस्मार in Caraka. Caraka says this of वातज अपस्मार-अभीक्ष्णमपस्मरन्तं क्षणे क्षणे संज्ञाप्रतिलभमानमुत्-पिंडिताक्षमसाम्ना विलपन्तमुद्वमन्तं फेनमति । पित्तज अपस्मार in Caraka is like this—अभीक्ष्णमपस्मरन्तं क्षणे क्षणे संज्ञां प्रतिलभमानमवकूजन्तमास्फालयन्तं भूमिं... पित्तेनापस्मारितं विद्यात् (Nidāna-sthānam 8.5-6)

Again, we find in Caraka

विभ्रान्तबहुदोषाणामहिताशुचिभोजिनाम् ।
रजस्तमोभ्य विहते सत्त्वे दोषावृते हृदि ॥
... ...
पश्यत्यसन्ति रूपाणि पतति प्रस्फुरत्यति ।
जिह्माक्षिभ्रूः स्रवल्लालो हस्तौ पादौ च विक्षिपन् ॥
... ...
... ...
कम्पते प्रदशेद्दन्तान् फेनोद्वामी श्वसित्यपि ।
परुषारुणकृष्णानि पश्येद्रूपाणि चानिलात् ॥

(Cikitsā-sthānam, 10.2.4.5)

V

Bharata, it appears, drew on a large number of medicinal treatises, The frequent references to भूतपिशाच in connection with Vyabhicāribhāvas in Bharata possibly refer to that branch of medical science.

going by the name of भूतविद्या। They refer to that dim past of Āyurveda, and its early association with Atharvanic magical rites. This explains why Bharata says that Rasa has been taken over from Atharva-Veda—रसानाथर्वणादपि (1.17. Benares Ed.). There are still traces of these magical rites in Caraka and Suśruta. Caraka in Nidāna-sthānam (Ch. 8 Sl. 9) refers to आगन्तुरपस्मार। तेषामागन्तुरनुवन्धो भवत्येव कदाचित् स उत्तरकालमुपदेक्ष्यते। Suśruta in Ch. 60 of the उत्तरतन्त्र, discusses the symptoms of one possessed:

स्थूलाक्षस्त्वरितगतिः स्वफेनलेही।
निद्रालुः पतति च कम्पते च योऽति।
यश्चाद्रिद्विरदनगादिविच्युतः सन्
संसृष्टो न भवति वार्द्धकेन जुष्टः॥ (60.14).

This is very close to Bharata's śloka (Ch. 7.74) cited in Sec. III.

In discussing the Vyabhicāribhāva, अभिघातज, Bharata literally takes over from Suśruta the analysis of the eight stages of poisoning, Bharata writes,

कार्श्यं तु प्रथमे वेगे द्वितीये वेपथुं तथा।
दाहं तृतीये हिक्कां तु चतुर्थे संप्रयोजयेत्॥
फेनं तु पंचमे कुर्यात् षष्ठे तु स्कन्धभंजनम्।
जड़तां सप्तमे कुर्यादष्टमे मरणं तथा॥ (7.86-87).

Suśruta has it like this, and the extent of Bharata's borrowing will at once be made evident.

स्थावरस्योपयुक्तस्य वेगे तु प्रथमे नृणाम्।
श्यावा जिह्वा भवेत् स्तब्धा मूर्च्छा श्वासश्च जायते॥
द्वितीये वेपथुः स्वेदो दाहः कण्डू रुजस्तथा।
विषमामाशयप्राप्तं कुरुते हृदि वेदनाम्॥
तालुशोषं तृतीये तु शूलं चामाशये भृशम्।
दुर्वर्णे हरिते शूले जायेते चास्य लोचने॥
पक्वाशयगते तोदो हिक्का कासोऽन्त्रकूजनम्।
चतुर्थे जायते वेगे शिरसश्चातिगौरवम्॥
कफप्रसेको वैवर्ण्यं पर्वभेदश्च पंचमे।
सर्वदोष प्रकोपश्च पक्वाधाते च वेदना॥
षष्ठे प्रज्ञाप्रणाशश्च भृशं वाप्यतिसार्यते।
स्कन्धपृष्ठकटीभंगः सन्निरोधश्च सप्तमे॥

(Kalpa-sthānam 2.24)

Bharata follows step by step Suśruta's analysis of the different stages of a poisoned man. The transferance from the physical to the psychological plane has been effected by Bharata, following the orthodox and traditional teaching of Indian medicine.

We discuss one more instance of Bharata's borrowing. It is his concept of the Vyabhicāribhāva, मद । Caraka in Ch. 24 of Cikitsā-sthānam, speaks of three varieties of मद and the different degrees of intoxication in the well-disposed (Sāttvika), wordly-minded (Rājasika), and evil disposed (Tāmasika) man. It will be seen that Bharata borrows extensively from Caraka's treatment of मदात्यय । Let us compare the passage from Bharata, describing the different types of character, when intoxicated. Its very striking similarity with Caraka's treatment will at once be evident. Bharata writes:

उत्तमसत्त्वः शेते हसति च गायति च मध्यमप्रकृतिः ।
परुषवचनाभिधायी रोदित्यपि चाधमप्रकृतिः ॥
स्मितवचनमधुररागो धृष्टतनुः किंचिदाकुलितवाक्यः ।
सुकुमाराविद्धगतिस्तरुणमदस्तूत्तमप्रकृतिः ॥
स्खलितघूर्णितनयनः स्रस्तव्याकुलितवाहुविक्षेपः ।
कूटिलव्याविद्धगतिर्मध्यमदो मध्यमः प्रकृतिः ॥
नष्टस्मृतिर्हतगतिच्छर्दितहिक्काकफैः सुवीभत्सः ।
गुरुसज्जमानजिह्वो निष्ठीवति चाधमप्रकृतिः ॥ (7. 40-43).

Bharata's distinction of men with different temperament with reference to the degree of intoxication, follows closely Caraka's analysis of the effects of drink on Sāttvika, Rājasika and Tāmasika minds. The clue to this is again provided by Caraka. Caraka writes

सत्त्वानि च प्रवुध्यन्ते प्रायशः प्रथम मदे ।
द्वितीये व्यक्ततां यान्ति मध्ये चोत्तममध्ययोः ॥
सत्त्वसम्बोधकं हर्षमोहप्रकृति दर्शकम् ।
हुताश एव भूतानां मद्यन्तूभयकारकम् ॥
प्रधानावरमध्यानां रूक्माणां व्यक्तिदर्शकः ।
यथाग्निरेवं सत्त्वानां मद्यं प्रकृतिदर्शकम् ॥
(Cikitsā-sthānam 24.25)

In the three following ślokas (Cikitsā-sthānam 24.26-28) Caraka analyses what he calls सात्त्विकपान, राजसपान and तामसपान । It may be noted that Bharata's analysis follows in detail Caraka's exposition of the effects of drink on different temperament.

VI

The concept of Vyabhicāribhāva indicates only one aspect of the large and very extensive borrowing by Bharata from Indian medicinal

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sources. It may be noted here that Mm. P. V. Kane[5] says that "the theory of Rasa has a semi-physiological and semi-psychological basis". But inspite of his admission that Rasa has a semi-physiological basis, his general view appeares to be that it has a psychological origin. He then attempts to explain the Rasa theory from the standpoint of such western psychologists, as MacDougall[6] and Mcdowall[7]. But is it at all necessary to introduce these Western viewpoints in the interpretation of Bharata? The true background of Bharata, as we have attempted to show, is not so much psychological, as it is pathological or physiological. We have seen how the concept of Rasa in Bharata follows closely Indian medical speculations. Bharata asks in Ch. VI रस इति कः पदार्थः ? The reply is, अत्रोच्यते-आस्वाद्यत्वात् । It may be noted further that the preparation of drinks and beverages with which Bharata compares the making of Rasa is a purely medicinal concept. Bharata here is only speaking of a particular kind of preparation, which is known as गुड़पाक among the medical men. We have already discussed how in the *Nāṭya-śāstra*, diseases of the physical body are transferred to the mind. This is made possible by Bharata's acceptance of the general theoretical position of Caraka. सत्त्वं च शरीरमनुविधीयते शरोरं च सत्त्वम् । For an adequate understanding of Bharata and all later literary Rasa speculations we have then to turn to Caraka and Suśruta, and to Indian medicine in general.

The link between Suśruta, Caraka and Bharata has been lost sight of for several centuries in India. The present writer is working to restore the old and valuable long-lost link between the Āyurveda of Suśruta and Caraka and the *Nāṭya-śāstra* of Bharata.

RAMENDRA KUMAR SEN

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[5] *History of Sanskrit Poetics* (1951) p. 432.

[6] Energies of Men (1932).

[7] Sane Psychology (1944).

MISCELLANY

An Early Image of Kārttikeya from Taxila

In the *Annual Report of the Archaeological Survey of India* for 1934-5, p. 31, Khan Sahib A. D. Siddiqi reports the discovery from that year's excavations at Taxila of "a stone figure of an unidentified deity 8 inches high holding a parrot in left hand and a spear in right, fully ornamented". In the plate accompanying the report the image is, however, somewhat doubtfully described as a "stone figure of Kubera (?) with spear and cock".[1] But a careful examination of the plate, which is reproduced here[2], leaves little room for doubt that the figure is one of Kārttikeya, as suggested by V. S. Agrawala[3]. The weapon in the right hand of the god is clearly a spear (*śakti*), while the bird held in the left hand is undoubtedly a cock (*kukkuṭa*), both of which are particularly associated with Skanda-Kārttikeya who is described in texts as *śaktidhara* and *barhiketu*[4]. The *kukkuṭa* is specifically associated with Kārttikeya in the *Mahābhārata* as well as in several iconographic texts like the *Viṣṇudharmottara*[5]. There can be no two opinions, therefore, about the Taxila sculpture being one of Skanda-Kārttikeya. The image is, however, of some iconographic interest which I propose to discuss here.

The sculpture is more or less in the round. It shows Kārttikeya standing fully to front, holding a *śakti* (spear) in his right hand, and a *kukkuṭa* (cock) in his left hand placed akimbo. The god wears a waist-girdle (*kaṭibandha*) and a *dhoti* reaching down to the knees,

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[1] *Op. cit*, Pl. VIII (f).

[2] Pl. I, reproduced from *ASIAR.*, 1934-5, Pl. VIII (f), by kind permission of the Director-General of Archaeology in India.

[3] *JISOA.*, V, p. 129, note 3, *Brahmanical Images in Mathura* by V. S. Agrawala. The Lucknow Museum (Archaeological Section) has, as I noticed during a recent visit there, a small late Gandhāra sculpture of two armed Kārttikeya seated frontally astride a peacock, and having no cock with him.

[4] Cf: *Bṛ. Saṁ.*, ch. 57: *Skandaḥ Kumāra-rūpaś=śaktidharo'=barhiketuś=ca.*

[5] Cf. *Development of Hindu Iconography* by Dr. J. N. Banerjea, pp. 117-18.

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the two ends of which flutter at the sides. The legs are encased in what look like high boots. The upper part of the body is bare but for a pair of *hāras* and the faint traces of the *yajñopavīta*. The head is adorned with an ornamented cap, and the ears and arms with *kuṇḍalas* and *valayas*. Behind the head is a plain circular halo or *prabhāvalī* with a simple beaded margin[6].

The image is apparently undated and uninscribed. Khan Sahib Siddiqi's brief notice of it does not contain any clue regarding its probable date. V. S. Agrawala also does not say anything about its age, beyond noticing its similarity to a Mathura Museum statuette (No. 2332) of standing haloed Kārttikeya, holding a spear in the right hand and a cock in the left, which he assigns to about the 2nd century A.D.[7] The Mathura Museum Kārttikeya figure was not, however, illustrated by him. I illustrate it here[8] through the courtesy of the Curator, Archaeological Museum, Mathura, who very kindly took the trouble of having it photographed for me. The figure is broken with the result that its lower portion from the thighs downwards is missing. It is also quite worn. But the spear and the cock in the right and left hands respectively of the god are quite clear, and there should be no hesitation in accepting V.S. Agrawala's identification of the figure as Kārttikeya. One is, however, not so sure of its assignment to the 2nd century A.D. It may be a century or two later, though no definite opinion should be passed regarding its age in view of its very worn condition. In the case of the Taxila image of Kārttikeya we are on somewhat surer ground as its preservation is much better. Stylistically, the latter may be placed in the Late Kuṣāṇa period or about the 4th-5th century A.D. A profitable comparison may be made in this regard with A. D. Siddiqi's Taxila potstone figure of standing Viṣṇu (ht. 8.8″), holding *śaṅkha*, *cakra*, *gadā* and *padma* in his four hands, which, as Dr. J. N. Banerjea rightly says, is "one of the latest Gandhāra specimens of art"[9]. There is no doubt that there is a very close resemblance in style

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[6] Pl. I.

[7] *Op. cit.*, p. 129 and note 3.

[8] Pl. II. I am informed that the image is 5″ in height.

[9] *ASIAR.*, 1935-36, p. 35, Pl. XL (a); *JISOA.*, XIII, p. 77, *Hindu Iconography* by Dr. J. N. Banerjea. I am indebted for these references to Dr. J. N. Banerjea.

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and execution between the two Taxila figures of Kārttikeya and Viṣṇu, and one may even feel tempted to suggest that they both came out of the workshop of the same sculptor.

The iconographic type represented by the Taxila Kārttikeya agrees well with the description of two-armed Kārttikeya given in the *Aṁśumadbhedāgama*, which says that in two-armed representations of this god the spear should be placed in his right hand and a cock in his left hand[10]. T. A. G. Rao also mentions this type as one of the five recognised forms of representing two-armed Kārttikeya[11], but he could not refer to any actual specimens. The Taxila image of Kārttikeya together with the Mathura Museum statuette referred to above may be regarded as among the earliest sculptural representations of this particular iconographic type. This type differs somewhat from the type of two-armed Kārttikeya described in the *Matsya Purāṇa*[12], according to which, the left hand of the god should be placed on a cock, instead of the cock being placed upon the hand. R. D. Banerji has referred to a medieval sculpture of Kārttikeya in the Indian Museum in which one of the left hands of the god rests on a cock, but the image is four-armed.[13] The representation of two-armed standing Kārttikeya, holding a spear in his right hand, his left hand placed on the hip with a cock immediately below it, which is found on some Yaudheya copper coins of the 3rd-4th century A.D.,[14] showing undoubted Kuṣāṇa influence, may, however, be regarded as a very close approximation to the *Matsya Purāṇa* description. The bird has been taken by Allan to be a peacock[15]. A careful comparison of this bird with the undoubted peacock on the

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[10] Cf. *op. cit.*, *Dvibhuje kukkuṭaṁ vāme śaktir-dakṣiṇa-hastake*, quoted in *Elements of Hindu Iconography*, vol. II, pt. II, App. B, p. 205. This may be interpreted to mean also that the cock should be to the left of Kārttikeya and not necessarily in his left hand, in which case it may be taken to agree with the figure of two-armed Kārttikeya with spear in right hand and cock in the left field found on the Yaudheya coins referred to here.

[11] T. A. G. Rao, *op. cit.*, vol. II, pt. II, p. 425.

[12] *Op. cit.*, ch. 259, v. 60: *Dvibhujasya kare śaktir-vāme syāt kukkuṭ=opari.*

[13] *Eastern Indian School of Medieval Sculpture*, p. 118.

[14] Smith, *CCIM.*, I, Pl. XXI, 18-20; Allan, *CCAIBM.*, PL. XL, 1-6.

[15] Allan, *op. cit.*, pp. cl-cli, 276-8.

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Horseman, Lion-slayer and Peacock types of Kumāragupta I's gold coins,[16] however, leaves little doubt that Smith was right in taking it to be a cock[17].

This association of the cock with Skanda-Kārttikeya is possibly traceable to their common solar connection. The cock is regarded as the harbinger of the dawn, while it is clear from such texts as the *Mārkaṇḍeya Purāṇa*, the *Viśvakarmā-śilpa* and the *Bhaviṣyat Purāṇa* that Skanda-Kārttikeya had a solar basis which one may also detect in the mythical accounts of his birth. According to the *Mārkaṇḍeya Purāṇa*, the *śakti* (spear) of Kārttikeya was fashioned by the celestial mechanic Viśvakarman from the power taken away from Sūrya. Both the *Viśvakarmā-śilpa* and the *Bhaviṣyat Purāṇa* regard Skanda (also called Daṇḍa) as one of the attendant divinities of Sūrya. The *Bhaviṣyat Purāṇa* further informs us that one of the *dvārapālas* of Kārttikeya is Sūrya under the name of Rājña, while one of the *dhyāna-ślokas* current in South India actually calls him Sūrya[18]. It is, therefore, no wonder that a Sūrya figure is found carved on the broken shaft of what appears to have been a *kukkuṭa-dhvaja* of Kārttikeya of the 2nd century A.D., portions of which including the cock-capital were found some time ago by Pandit M. S. Vats at Lala Bhagat in the Kanpur District of Uttar Pradesh[19].

This undoubted solar basis of Skanda-Kārttikeya possibly explains also why in the Taxila sculpture under discussion Kārttikeya is shown as wearing high boots like Sūrya in north Indian art. It may be pointed out that Śāmba who had also apparently some mythical association with the north Indian Sūrya cult, is likewise shown with high boots in some Mathura sculptures of the Kuṣāṇa period[20].

In conclusion, we may also note the parallelism between the Taxila sculpture of Kārttikeya and the iconometric texts. The *Pratimā-*

[16] Allan, *CICGDBM.*, Pls. XIII, 6-19, XIV, 14-17 and XV, 1-14.

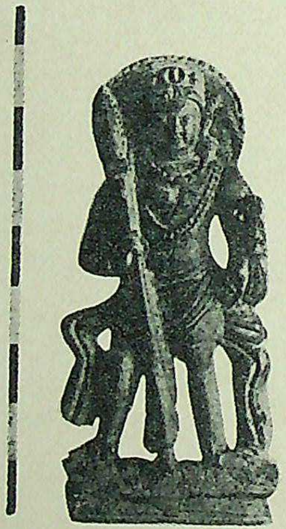
[17] Smith, *op. cit.*, pp. 182-3. Smith, however, could not identify the standing male figure which has been rightly identified by Allan (*loc. cit.*) as Kārttikeya.

[18] *Elements of Hindu Iconography*, vol. I, pt. II, pp. 303-4, 430-2.

[19] *ASIAR.*, 1929 30, pp. 132-3, Pl. XXXI; *JISOA.*, V. pp. 13f, *Indian Votive and Memorial Columns* by J. N. Banerjea; *Development of Hindu Iconography*, pp. 116-8.

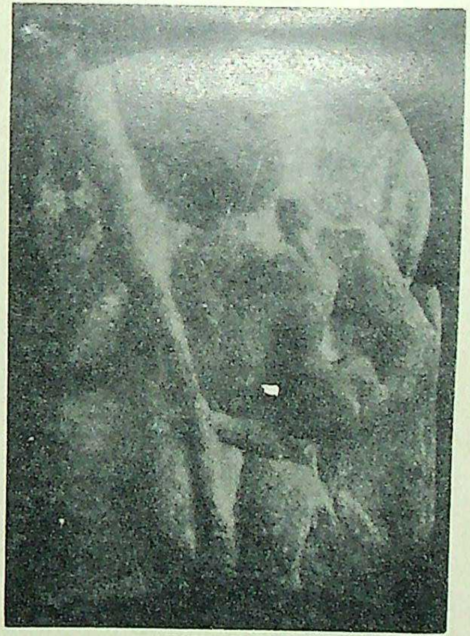
[20] *JISOA.*, XII, pp. 129f, *Images of Sāmba* by Jitendra Nath Banerjea.

PLATE I



Kārttikeya, from Taxila.

PLATE II



Kārttikeya, from Mathura.

IHQ., MARCH, 1954.

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mānalakṣaṇam says that Senāpati (i.e. Kārttikeya), Vināyaka and the Yakṣas should be shown in images as boys, and their height should be six times their face[21]. It is interesting to nore that in our sculpture Kārttikeya has a youthful, almost boyish appearance, while his height, excluding the halo and the pedestal, appears to be about six times his face.

Everything considered, therefore, the Taxila image of Kārttikeya may be regarded as an iconographic specimen of more than usual interest.

R. C. Kar

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[21] *Op. cit.*, vv. 95-96: *Athātaḥ sampravakṣyāmi bālānāṁ mānalakṣaṇam/| Ṣaḍguṇaṁ bālarūpiṇaṁ (-pinaḥ) senāpatyāñca ṣaḍguṇaṁ (senāpateśca lakṣaṇam)//. Vināyakānāṁ yakṣāṇāṁ pratimā-lakṣaṇaṁ śubham/* (*Development of Hindu Iconography*, App. B, pp. 388, 408).

Subhāṣitaratnakaraṇḍakakathā

The *Subhāṣitaratnakaraṇḍakakathā* is a later Buddhist Sanskrit work intended for popularisation of the religion. It was composed particularly for the use of monk preachers for inspiring in the minds of the laity a faith in Buddhism. In Nepal it has been recently discovered. It is written in Newari characters and is preserved in the Nepal Durbar Library. A manuscript copy of the work was procured from the library through Dr. Sen, the then curator of the Nepal Museum. In the colophon it appears that Āryaśūra was the author of this work.

The present text consists of 28 short chapters, which are as follows: puṇyaprotsāhanakathā, dharmaprotsāhanakathā, durlabhamanuṣyakathā, dānakathā, puṇyakathā, bimbakathā, snānakathā, kuṁkumādikathā, chatrakathā, dhāvarayaṇakathā, maṇḍalakathā, bhojanakathā, pānakathā, vastrakathā, puṣpādikathā, praṇāmakathā, ujjvalikākathā, pradīpakathā, vihārakathā, śayanāsanakathā, kṣetrakathā, vicitrakathā, śīlakathā, kṣāntikathā, vīryakathā, dhyānakathā, prajñākathā and pāramitākathā. All the chapters are in verses. Some are very short, while others are very long. The concluding chapter, the pāramitākathā, for instance, contains two ślokas only. The chapters, therefore, lack uniformity. Like other Mahāyāna texts, this work commences with the salutation to Buddha and closes with the following verses: —

ये धर्मा हेतुप्रभवा हेतुस्तेषां तथागतो ।
ह्यवदत्तेषां यो निरोध एवंवादी महाश्रमणः ॥

To form an idea of the nature of the contents of the text we propose to give a résumé of a few chapters.

The first chapter, puṇyaprotsāhanakathā, is intended to inspire the laity to perform pious deeds. It states that it is very difficult to have birth as a man. One may be born as a man in this world by means of virtuous deeds performed in his previous existence. Having once obtained birth as a human being one should perform meritorious acts so that he may be reborn again as a man after death. Pious deeds only qualify a person for rebirth in human form. It states further that a man should refrain from committing sins and dedicate himself wholly like a sage for the good of all beings as long as he lives in this world.

The second chapter, dharmaprotsāhanakathā, is devoted to the eulogies of the 'saddharma' propounded by the Great Teacher. It tells us that it is very rare for a Buddha to appear in this world and for a being to be born as a man. Blessed is he who can listen to the exposition of the dharma given by the Buddha. This is followed by a list of beings to whom the 'saddharma' is denied. The dharma preached by the Buddha leads one to the *summum bonum*. It is, therefore, essential that one who desires to escape from the miseries of the world and attain happiness in life should listen attentively to the teachings of the Buddha.

The third chapter called the dānakathā enumerates the merits gained by liberality (dāna). It is one of the six pāramitās (attainment of perfection) frequently referred to in the Mahāyānic code of discipline. Our poet says here that kings enjoy royal pleasures for the gifts made in their previous lives. Śakra has become the Lord of heaven and enjoys pleasures with Śacī due to his previous gifts only. Then the writer closes this chapter with the following: —

इति दानगुणान्निशम्य सौम्य प्रयतात्मा कुरु दान एव यानं ।
त्रिभवोग्रमहाभये नराणां नहि दानात् परमस्ति बन्धुरन्यः ॥

The next few chapters deal with the offering of bathing materials, umbrellas, food, drinking water, cloth, flowers, light, bedding and the like to the Buddha, which is regarded as highly meritorious. It holds out the hope that by such offering one will be reborn in heaven after death.

The work then refers to the remaining five pāramitās, viz., śīla, kṣānti, vīrya, dhyāna and prajñā. Each of the pāramitās has been highly extolled and recommended for the attainment of spiritual progress in life. While speaking of the prajñāpāramitā our poet observes: —

तस्मात् सर्वगुणार्थसाधनकरी प्रज्ञैव संवर्द्धता ।
न प्रज्ञाविकला विभान्ति पुरुषाः प्रातः प्रदीपा इव ॥

The concluding chapter, the pāramitākathā, contains only two verses. Below are reproduced the verses: —

स्वर्गापवर्गगुणरत्ननिधानभूता एता यदेव भुवि पारमिता नराणां ।
ज्ञात्वा नरः स्वहितसाधनतत्परः स्यात् कुर्यान्नरः सततमाशु दृढं प्रयत्नम् ॥

It should be mentioned that the doctrine of pāramita made a powerful appeal to the laity and made Buddhism a popular religion.

The text also appears in Tibetan and there are two Tibetan renderings of the work. The Tibetan translations, as a rule, are very faithful and verbatim. But the present text on collation with the Tibetan versions is found to have more divergence than agreement. Further, there is also a slight difference between the Tibetan versions. It is, therefore, a fair inference that the Tibetan renderings were made not from the present work but from some other, lost to us. In other words, there were texts other than our present work, which the Tibetan translators made use of.

It should be observed that Āryaśūra who lived in the 4th century A.D. was one of the famous Buddhist writers of Sanskrit. His is a Kāvya style and is elegant. It is 'more artistic than artificial'. So far only one work of the author is available to us in print. The *Jātakamālā* which contains 34 jātakas illustrating the pāramitās (perfection) of a bodhisattva has been published in America (Harvard Oriental Series). In Tibetan, however, five other works besides the *Jātakamālā* are ascribed to him. Sanskrit originals are lost.

Our manuscript is complete, but it has been badly copied. It is full of mistakes of various kinds. The offences against the laws of grammar and versification are numerous. Even the orthography is sometimes not correct. For collation there is neither any other copy nor other Tibetan translation available and that is why difficulty arises in settling correct readings. The copy of the manuscript was sent to Dr. Sen for comparing it again with the original manuscript but we have not as yet received it back—although it is long overdue. We propose to approach the Durbar Library for a fresh copy of the manuscript, so that an edition of such an important work of Āryaśūra could be made available to the students of Buddhism at an early date.

ANUKUL CHANDRA BANERJEE

A peep into the causes of the political aggrandisement of Kāśmīra in the 7th and 8th centuries

In the history of early India, Kāśmīra had been more or less a local power. She had been subject to the invasions of the Mauryas, the Indo-Greeks, the Kuṣāṇas and the Hūṇas and though at times independent, until the beginning of the seventh century, her activity had been mainly confined within her mountain boundaries. There is not a scrap of evidence to show that she had tried to exert her influence in North Indian politics or anywhere else.

Things however took a rapid turn from the seventh century onwards. The celebrated Chinese pilgrim who was present in the court of Kāśmīra between the years 631 and 633, found all adjacent territories on the west and south, down to the plains, subject to the sway of the king of Kāśmīra. He thus distinctly states that Takṣaśilā east of the Indus, Uraśā or Hazara, Siṁhapura or the Salt Range, with the smaller hill states of Rājapuri and Parṇotsa, had no independent rulers, but were tributary to Kāśmīra. Of Takṣaśilā, it is further stated, that the dependence was of recent date.[1] It is generally accepted that the Chinese traveller's contemporary on the throne of Kāśmīra was Durlabhavardhana, the founder of the Karkoṭa dynasty.

The policy of aggrandisement started by Durlabha was taken up by his successors. Kalhaṇa credits his grandson Lalitāditya with the conquest of territories in Indian as well as in Himalayan region. The Indian conquests include Jālandhara and Lohara corresponding to present Kangra and Punch, Kanauj region in the Uttar Pradesh, Karṇāṭa and Kenkana in Deccan, Dvārakā in the Gujrat peninsula, Avanti in the Madhyabharat and Prāgjyotiṣa in Assam. The Himalayan tracts said to have been conquered are countries of the Śāhis (probably the Gilgit region, compare Stein, Archaeological Notes from the Hindukush Region, *Journal of the Royal As. Soc. of Great*

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[1] *Si-yo-ki*, tr. Beal, i, pp. 136, 143, 147, 163. That the power of the Kāśmirian king actually extended to Takṣaśilā and the Indus is proved by the fact that he personally came to visit Hiuen Tsang when the latter on his return journey stopped with the king of Kapiśa or Kabul at Udabhāṇḍa on the Indus see *Life* (ed. Beal), p. 192.

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Britain and Ireland, 1944, pp. 5-14), Kambojas (the eastern part of Afghanistan), Mummuni (some adjoining region of Kāśmīra probably ruled by some local tribe), Bhauṭṭas (Ladakh area), and Darads (the region extending from Citral and Yasin, across the Indus region of Gilgit, Cilas and Bunji to the Kisanganga valley in immediate north of Kāśmīra). Two other territories, Strirājya and the kingdom of the Uttarakurus cannot be identified.[2]

The account of Lalitāditya's expedition is undoubtedly exaggerated, but that he was the creator of a Kāśmīrian empire cannot be denied. His victory in the Kanauj region is attested by coins.[3] Conquest of Jālandhara and Lohara was probably necessary for obtaining a direct route to Kanauj. Traditions recorded by Alberuni are reminiscient of his triumph over the Turks.[4] Bhautta or Tibetan invasion of the Kāśmīrian king receives support from Chinese testimony.[5]

Lalitāditya's grandson, Jayāpīḍa probably repeated some of the performances of his grandfather. He is said to have carried his arms as far as Bengal and defeated five kings of Gauḍa. He is also credited with a victory over the king of Kanauj.[6]

What led to the spectacular rise of Kāśmīra in the seventh century? Our sources for the period under review do not speak of any social or economic revolution antedating this sudden rise. If there was no change in the existing socio-economic system, what else could have led Kāśmīra to undertake daring expeditions all over India? Wherefrom could she obtain the requisite money and other necessaries to man a huge army and to carry on prolonged wars? The answer is to be sought, not in Kāśmīra itself, but elsewhere. Kāśmīra could never conduct the expensive wars on her own scanty resources. It was China, which supplied the necessary men and money and dictated the foreign policy of Karkoṭa Kāśmīra.

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[2] *Rajataraṅgiṇī*, IV, 131-180.

[3] Electrum coins of characteristic Karkoṭa type with the legend Śrī-Pratāpa have been recovered from the village of Bhitaura Dt. Fyzabad, from Banda district, U.P., from Rajghat and Sarnath in the confines of Benares and from the Monghyr dist., Bihar. See *Journal of the Royal As. Soc. of Great Britain, and Ireland*, 1906, p. 843: *Journal of the As. Soc. of Bengal, Num. Suppl.*, 1928, p. 6-9; *Journal of the Num. Soc. of India*, vol. X, part I, pp. 30-32. The Śrī-Pratāpa type of coins are also found in abundance in Kāśmīra and are generally attributed to Lalitāditya.

[4] *India.* (tr. Sachau), ii, p. 178.

[5] A Remusat, tr. *Nouv. Melanges Asiat*, i, pp. 196 sq.

[6] *R. T.* IV, 468, 471.

According to the Chinese annals of the Tang dynasty, sometime between the years A.D. 627 and 649, Tu-lo-pa, a king of India controlled the route from China to Kipin, i.e. the Kabul valley.[7] It is generally accepted that this Tu-lo-pa is Durlabhavardhana, king of Kāśmīra. Whether the Karkoṭa king was guarding the route in his independent capacity or as a vassal of the Son of Heaven, is not clear from the context. But the latter possibility cannot be altogether ruled out, particularly when we learn that during the Tang period it was the Chinese who controlled routes from China to Central Asia, through the Turkish and the Turfan countries.[8]

Durlabhavardhana was succeeded by Pratāpāditya II and Pratāpa was followed by his eldest son Candrāpīḍa. Tchen-to-lo-pi-li, king of Kāśmīra, mentioned in the Tang annals, is undoubtedly the Chinese counterpart of his name.[9] According to the Chinese testimony, he appeared in A.D. 713 to the Chinese emperor for aid against the Arabs. Then again, about A.D. 720, the Emperor granted him the title of king.[10] This conferring of kingly dignity by the Chinese emperor conclusively proves the latter's subordinate position.

There was no change in Sino-Kāśmīrian relation after Candrāpīḍa's death. His brother Lalitāditya adopted the same policy of allegiance to the Chinese Emperor. According to the Tang historians Mu-to-pi, king of Kāśmīra, evidently Lalitāditya Muktāpīḍa, sent an embassy to China during the reign of Emperor Hiuen-tsang, A.D. 713-755, and after the first Chinese expedition against Po-liu (Baltistan) which took place between the years 736 and 747. The king requested an alliance against the Tibetans, and the despatch of a Chinese auxiliary force, which was to encamp in the midst of his country on the shores of the Mahapadmā lake (i.e. the Volur). He offered to find provision for an army of 2,00,000 men and reported that in alliance with the king of Central India he had blocked the five routes of Tibet.[11] The

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[7] Cunningham, *Coins of Mediaeval India*, p. 38.

[8] Tsu-Chi, *A Short History of Chinese Civilisation*, p. 146.

[9] Klaproth, *Memoires relatifs al 'Asia*, ii, pp. 275 sq.

[10] A Remusat, *Nouv. Melanges Asiat.*, i, pp. 196 sq.

[11] *Ibid.*

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ambassador of Kāśmīra further claims for his country repeated victory over the Tibetans, 'the dreaded enemies of China'.

We have seen that in Candrāpīḍa's reign China supplied military aid to China. In Lalitāditya's time Kāśmīra depended on Chinese help to fight the Tibetans. What could have led China to help Kāśmīra? She could scarcely have any interest in Kāśmīra's policy of aggrandisement, if she could not benefit herself by it. But as it was, the expansion of Kāśmīra was not merely the expansion of an Indian kingdom; it was, in reality, the extension of the supremacy of China in the Himalayan regions. According to Chinese testimony, in hundred years, roughly extending from 650 to 750, a quadrangular fight was being fought between the Turks, the Turfans, the Arabs and the Chinese, for the possession of Central Asia.[12] It is apparent that Kāśmīra as a subordinate ally assisted China in her enterprises in that region. Candrāpīḍa fought with the Arabs, because Chinese interests demanded it. Since China came in conflict with Tibet, king of Kāśmīra had to block all the routes of the hill kingdom. Lalitāditya's expeditions against the Tukhāras and Darads probably had the same objective in view, namely to assist in the establishment of Tang supremacy in those regions.

It is true that Karkoṭa Kāśmīra also adopted a policy of aggrandisement southwards, i.e. in the North Indian plains. But that was a corollary of her main policy, the conquest of the Himalayan powers. So long as the Tang dynasty was in power, Kāśmīra evinced great strength. But with the decline of the Tangs, came a change in the foreign policy of China. Domestic trouble compelled her to discontinue a policy of aggression. When the Chinese help ceased, Kāśmīra was no longer seen to carry on a policy of expansion. She retired from the All India politics, never to come again.

SUNIL CHANDRA RAY

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[12] Tsu-Chi, *A Short History of Chinese Civilisation*, p. 144.

Life of Nāgārjuna

(From the Pag-Sam-Jon-Zang)

In a place to the south of Vaidarbha there was a Brāhmaṇa family in which Nāgārjuna was born. At the time of his birth, soothsayers advised his parents to entertain one hundred Brāhmaṇas and Bhikṣus with feasts for the prolongation of the life of their son from seven days to seven months and even to seven years. When the boy was about seven years old they felt that it would be unbearable for them to see the dead body of their son. So they allowed him to go abroad. After travelling over various countries he came to Nālandā (Nālendra) and met Saraha. By the utterance of mantras in invocation of Amitāyus, his life-time increased. In his eighth year he began to study Sarvāstivāda (thams-cad yod-smra'i-sde) doctrine from Rāhula (sgra-gcan) and was given initiation.

Associated with Saraha he took instructions on the Guhyādikṣetra and others. He was ordinated by the Upādhyāya Saraha and was called Śrīprajñādhara (? dpal-ldan blo-'chad-du btags). Meditating on the goddesses Mahāmāyūrī (rma-bya-chen-mo) and Kurukullā (ku-ru-ku-lle) he attained various Siddhis, particularly, in chemical (i.e. medical) sciences, and was named Vajrakāyasiddha (rdo-rje-lus-grub). In the monastery he picked up from Bhalaba (? bha-la-ba) the knowledge of alchemy for changing colours; but being unable to do that practically he learnt it again from a wine-seller woman (chañ-'tsoñ-ma). And, when a famine broke out in Nālandā, he, as an attendant of the monastery, saved the people by the alchemy of changing the metals (other than gold) into gold by the propitiation of Caṇḍikā and maintained them for twelve years.

He reconverted the renegade Śaṅkara by explaining the religion rightly. While he explained the religion the daughters of Nāgarāja Takṣaka (klu-'jog-po) heard his religious discourses of the human world. He was called to Nāgaloka wherefrom he brought the incomplete Tripiṭakas and various Dhāraṇīs in sixteen volumes for which he was named Nāgārjuna (klu-sgrub). Thereafter, he propagated the knowledge of alchemy in ancient Puṇḍravardhana (li-kha-ra-śiṅ-'phel).

Nāgārjuna learnt the Tantras of the goddess Tārā from Hayaghoṣa, a disciple of Hayapāla who was a scholar of the Tripiṭakas. Hayapāla was Guhyaśrī's disciple. In the Dhānyakaṭaka monastery he obtained the Mahākāla-tantra and Kurukullā-tantra from the goddess Tārā. It is said that none received any other new Mahāyāna Sūtrānta in India after this.

He erected one hundred temples (at Nālandā) in the Madhyadeśa for the spread and development of Mahāyāna and he placed an image of the god Mahākāla.

At Vajrāsana (rdo-rje-gdan) he placed railings made of stones to save the Bodhi-Tree from the attack of an elephant. He also placed seven big stones and excavated a drain on the east of the river Neranjanā to save one hundred and eight Caityas from the flood of the river. The images of Śākyamuni were engraved on each of the stones placed there. And in the south at Dhānyakaṭaka monastery he erected walls around one hundred Caityas. At Jaṭasaṁghara he defeated about five hundred Tīrthikas and earned a great distinction by preaching his doctrine. And, at Śrīparvata he meditated on the goddess Tārā and spent his later life.

In his later life, the king Sucarita's (bde-spyod) younger son named Suśakti, being instigated by his evil minded mother, beheaded Nāgārjuna. It is said that, Nāgārjuna offered his head as a gift, as a result of which he went to Sukhāvatī.

It is said in Tibet that, he spent two hundred years in Madhyadeśa, twelve years in the northern countries and in the countries where non-human beings were inhabitants (mi-min) and two hundred years in the southern countries and one hundred and twentynine years, or one hundred and seventyone years in Śrīparvata. Thus he lived more than five hundred years.

Like Buddha he attained the Cittotpāda (thugs-bskyed-pa) in the presence of Dīpa (sgron-me) of Nāga family. He propounded these religious developments or preachings (chos-sgra) thrice: firstly, regarding the method of the Vinaya practices he purified the doctrine that was corrupted by Saṅkara of Nālandā; secondly, by composing the chief texts of Mādhyamika doctrine, he advocated the doctrine with reference to Prajñāpāramitā; lastly, on his way from Uttarakuru to Jambudvīpa he went to king Pujatakāla (? Pu-tza-ta-ka-la) and presented his text the Ratnamālā (rin-chen-phren-pa) to the king whom he had met during his journey towards northern lands. He also composed many other texts, such as the Mahāpaṭaha Sūtra (rna-bo-che'i-mdo-sogs).

It is thus recorded in the text Mahāmegha:—Nāgārjuna will be Samyaksambuddha by the name of Buddha Jñānākaraprabha in the Prabhā-lokadhātu. According to the Annals of Eighty-four Mahāsiddhas, he was born in Kāñci, to be specific, at Kahorẹ. He came to Nālandā where he became a good scholar and met the goddess Tārā. At Rajagṛha he learnt mantras about the twelve female yoginīs ('byuṅ-mo) for twelve years. When he wanted to transform the hill (? Gha-dha-śi), into gold the goddess Mañjuśrī blessed him. Then he went towards Śrīparvata.

At Śrīparvata when he was in meditation, Brahmā in the form of a Brāhmaṇa prayed for his head, which he gave as a gift (to Brahmā). After learning this the king came to grief and died. It is said that Nāgārjuna will appear again during the time of Maitreya Buddha.

He made a miraculous deed by creating an elephant from a piece of wood given by an elephant keeper while he was going to Śrīparvata. Nāgārjuna made him a king named Śālavandha of Videha who had a great kingdom.

He was a spiritual son of Mañjuśrī and in Śrīparvata he meditated upto the seventh bhūmi and he had thirtytwo lakṣaṇas which a great man possesses with other extra-ordinary powers. He also obtained the Vajradhāraka mantras and helped Candrakīrti in writing his works.

Note: [There were in fact two very distinguished Nāgārjunas, one of whom was the promulgator of the Mâdhyamika school of thought and the other which was a Mahāsiddha, highly proficient in Tantric doctrines and *rasaśāstra*, included in the Tantric sādhanās. In the Tibetan traditions, the two Nāgārjunas, who lived about 400 years apart, have been mixed up.]

Sunitikumar Pathak

Select Contents of Oriental Journals

Annals of the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute, vol. XXXIV, pts I-IV (1953)

P. C. DIVANJI.—*Bṛhad-yogi-yājñavalkya-smṛti and Yoga-yājñavalkya.* By a comparison of the nature and contents of the newly published *Bṛhad-yogi-yājñavakya-smṛti* and the work published under the title of *Yogiyājñavalkya* and *Yoga-yājñavalkya*, the latter is shown to have a better claim for being considered the authentic Yoga treatise associated with the name of the great Yājñavalkya.

C. D. CHATTERJEE.—*Studies in the Inscriptions of Aśoka, No. 1(B): Edict of Aśoka on the Public Benefactions of Queen Cāruvākī.*

RONALD M. SMITH.—*Birth of Thought II: Bṛhadāraṇyaka Upaniṣad.* The contents of the Upaniṣad are analysed and their intellectual worth pointed out.

S. K. DIKSHIT.—*The Problem of the Kuṣāṇas and the Origin of the Vikrama Saṃvat.* The writer of the paper has sought to demonstrate that the era used in Kharoṣṭhī and early Brāhmī inscriptions of northern and north-western India is the 'Vikrama Saṃvat.' In order to solve some problems in this connection, it is argued in the paper that the evidence of epigraphic and numismatic records of the earlier kings seems to indicate that the inscriptions of Kaniṣka and his successors "are dated with the two hundreds omitted".

P. K. GODE.—*Date of Ānandabhāratī or Ānandasiddha and his Medical Treatise Ānandamālā—between c. A. D. 1350 and 1600.*

LUDWICK STERNBACH.—*Juridical Studies in Ancient Indian Law: Indian Tales and the Smṛtis.* This instalment of 'the juridical studies' discusses different versions of the tale of the Gullible Husband and his Cunning Wife as found in different Sanskrit and other sources. In the text of this tale are quoted Smṛti aphorisms dealing specially with the duty of a father towards his daughter, and the duties of a wife towards her husband.

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Annals of Oriental Research,
University of Madras, vol. X, pt. II

M. A. Dorai Rangaswamy.—*Dakṣiṇāmūrti with Reference to Saint Sundarar.* Sculptural representations of Dakṣiṇāmūrti are found occupying niches of South Indian temples. The three-faced form of the god in yogic posture is traced to the Indus civilization. The esoteric significance of the form and the nature of the god as explained by the Śaiva mystic Sundarar is discussed in the paper.

S. Arumuga Mudalyar.—*The Secular Literary Works in Tamil of the Pallava Period.*

N. Venkata Rao.—*Telugu Literature under Mysore Rulers.*

M. Govinda.—*Yakṣagāna in Karṇāṭaka.* This is an account of the *Yakṣagāna*, a *deśī* type of music popular in South India.

S. S. Sastri.—आत्मज्ञानीपदेविधिः. This *Prakaraṇa* of Śaṅkara dealing with the nature of the soul is edited with Ānandagiri's gloss.

Journal of the Asiatic Society, Letters, vol. XIX, no. I (1953)

M. N. Saha.—*Different Methods of Date-recording in Ancient and Medieval India, and the Origin of the Śaka Era.* The topics under the following heads form the principal subject-matter of the paper: Stages in India's calendar development, dates recorded by Aśoka, the Sātavāhanas and some early Indian dynasts, introduction of the Era in India, different methods of date-recording in different periods of Indian history, the old Śaka Era, and the Śaka and the Sātavāhana chronology.

Krishna Chandra Panigrahi.—*The Date of Khāravela.* King Khāravela of the Hatigumpha inscription is assigned to the middle of the second century B.C.

R. C. Majumdar.—*Wang Hiuan-ts'ö's Indian Campaign.* The Chinese accounts of Wang's fight with an Indian ruler have been critically examined in the paper to show that the Chinese ambassador's campaigns in 648 A.D. "were confined to a very narrow region, along the foot-hills of the Himālayas extending to the plains of N. Bihar".

H. Goetz.—*A Masterpiece of Mediaeval Kashmiri Metal Art: King Śaṅkaravarman's Frame for an Image of Buddha Avatāra*

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(beginning of the tenth century A.D.) in the Srinagar Museum.

Sundar Lal Hora.—*Knowledge of the Ancient Hindus concerning Fish and Fisheries of India.*

N. B. Ray.—*Makhzan-i-Afghāni and Tawārikh-i-Majlis Ārāi and their Ralative Value as Sources of History.*

R. C. Hazra.—*The Vidūṣaka in Sanskrit Dramas—His Origin.*

Journal of the Bihar Research Society,
vol. XXXIX, no. 4, December, 1953

Hariranjan Ghosal.—*Tirhut at the End of the Eighteenth and the Beginning of the Nineteenth Century* (1790-1820 A.D.). This economic survey of the district of Tirhut, based on unpublished records, deals with communication, agriculture, cattle-breeding, manufacturing industries and the export and import trade.

Satindra Nath Sengupta.—*The Sentiment of Laughter in Sanskrit Poetics.*

Ram Sharan Sharma.—*The Vedic Gaṇa and the Origin of the Post-Vedic Republics.*

Kalikinkar Datta.—*The Indian Movement of 1857-59 and its Reaction Abroad.*

Umesh Mishra.—प्रबोधचन्द्रोदय नाटकका उपोद्घात (*Introduction to the Drama Prabodhacandrodaya*). Kṛṣṇamiśra's *Prabodhacandrodaya* is an allegorical drama presenting a picture of the spiritual struggle of the human mind. Contents of the drama are analysed in the paper with a brief treatment of the doctrines referred to in it.

Journal of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society
vol. 28, pt. 1 (1953)

M. Arokiaswami.—*The Gaṅgas of Skandapurā.* The Tamil chronicle *Kangudēśarājākkal* mentions a list of the early Gaṅga kings who ruled from Skandapurā in Kongudēśa. Kāngayam in the Dhārāpuram Taluk of the district of Coimbatore once comprised in the ancient Kongudēśa which derived the name from its Gaṅga connections. Kāngayam or Skandapurā was the centre of the earlier Gaṅga kingdom whence at a later date the rulers shifted their capital to Talkad.

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Bhavatosh Bhattacharya.—*The Viṣṇudharmottara-purāṇa: Its Dharmaśāstra Contents and their Utilisation in Mediaeval Digests.* Verses from the *Viṣṇudharmottara* quoted in the Smṛti digests of Aniruddha Bhaṭṭa, Ballālasena, Caṇḍeśvara, Govindānanda, Raghunandana and Anantadeva are all listed here.

S. Mahdihassan.—*Kursi or Throne: a Chinese Word in the Koran.* The word *Kursi* used in India for chair occurs in the *Koran* in the sense of throne. Its original in Chinese *K'au-Tsz-l* means a grand chair with a high back.

N. G. Chapekar.—*Agastya.* Details about Agastya as found in the hymns of the *Ṛgveda* are discussed here, and suggestions are made about his relations with king Khel and Viśpalā.

G. C. Jhala.—*A Note on Karṇabhāra.* The one-act play *Karṇabhāra* of Bhāsa signifies by its title 'Karṇa's March'.

P. C. Divanji.—योगयाज्ञवल्क्यः. The famous work on Yoga is critically edited (chs. 1-6).

Journal of the Oriental Institute M.S. University of Baroda,

vol. 3, no. 2, (December, 1953)

S. N. Vyas.—*The Caste System in the Rāmāyaṇa.* In the society of the Rāmāyaṇa age the caste system was something like an arrangement for division of labour with happy relations subsisting between *Varṇas.*

Ludo Rocher.—*Quotations in Jīmūtavāhana's Vyavahāramātṛkā.*

C. Bulcke.—*An Indonesian Birth-story of Hanumān.*

Nilmadhav Sen.—*Some Epic Verbal Forms in the Rāmāyaṇa.*

H. R. Kapadia.—*The Jaina Data about Musical Instruments.*

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The Indian Historical Quarterly

Vol. XXX June, 1954 No. 2

The Atharva-vedic Hymn to the Earth

The twelfth book of the Atharva Veda opens with a magnificent hymn to the Earth (Pṛthivī). This hymn is remarkable in more ways than one. The idea of motherhood, the spirit of patriotism, and an exalted lyrical fervour characterise this hymn which runs into 63 stanzas. Over this background Atharvan reveals the dignity and integrity of the individual and a novel concept of divinity. At the same time he offers an interpretation of the nature of the society. Herein the Atharva Veda presents a marked development over the spirit of the Ṛg Veda. Atharvan himself is both a seer and a god who stitches into an organised complex the openings in the head, and who gives a breath and a brain to man. In so doing he seems to complete the work of the creation. This creation also involves the creation of the gods, of the new gods. Thus Skambha who is a peculiarly Atharva Vedic deity utters Atharva Veda and has even the eyes of the Angirasas. We have here the deification of the Veda, of the metres, of speech, and of the mother of the Vedas.

Before we take up an examination of the celebrated hymn to the earth, it is better to consider the status and nature of the earth as conceived by the seers of this Veda. The earth is said to be the world of the living beings,[1] as the source of all life. Life as used here refers to the continuity of life as it is conceived in the theory of karma. Since life as such continues for the same individual through a variety of births and deaths, and since life is possible only in this world, it is called immortal[2] This is the position advocated by the later Mīmāṃsā also This is immortality of the earth as a whole makes the seers speak of the

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[1] II. 9. I. जीवानां लोक मुन्नय cp. XIII. 1, 17 to 19. 54. 55.

[2] VIII. 1. i. इहायमस्तु पुरुषः सहासुना सूर्यस्य भागे अमृतस्य लोके

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human beings as though they are the children of the gods.[3] This healthy insistence on the importance of this earth has a rich suggestion about the importance of the society. It makes society a living institution wherein the duties of the individual are unavoidable.

We hear that once the earth and the heaven were joined together and that Atharvan separated them.[1] The Universe is threefold and each in turn is threefold, thus giving rise to three Pṛthivīs.[5] Of these three we find that Bhūmi is the best.[6] Nirṛiti (destructive spirit) is also identified with the earth, and yet the earth is beyond destruction.[7] It is a creative principle and accordingly the earth is the mother;[8] though the father may be Dyaus[9] or Parjanya.[10] This holy mother is sustained and developed by ordinances, consecration, truth and Ṛta.[11] Being the mistress of what is and what is yet to be[12] she bears all the beings.[13] The first symptom of life arose here when the trembling firmament united with the earth to beget water.[11] Yet we are told that the earth was originally water while her immortal heart lay in the highest empyrean enveloped by truth.[15] Brahman, in other words, sustains the earth;[16] and yet she chose Indra as her lord since the time she rejected the dasyus.[17] And when we also hear that Agni controls the

[3] XI. 8. xii.

[4] VI. 61. 2 अहं विवेच पृथिवी मुतद्याम्

[5] IV. 20. 2. तिस्रो दिव स्तिस्रः पृथिवीः

[6] VI. 21. i. इमा या स्तिस्रः पृथिवी स्तासां ह भूमिरुत्तमा

[7] VI. 84. i. भूमिरिति त्वाभि प्रमन्वते जना निर्ऋतिरिति त्वाहं परिवेद सर्वतः cf. II. 15. 1.

[8] IX, 10. xii. माता पृथिवो महीयम

[9] II. 28. iv, द्यौष्ट्वा पिता पृथिवी माता

[10] XII. 1. xii. पर्जन्यः पिता

[11] XII. 1. i, xvii सत्यं बृहदृत मुग्रं दीक्षातपो ब्रह्म यज्ञः पृथिवीं धारयन्ति cf. पृथिवीं धर्मणा धृताम्

[12] XII. 1. 2. भूतस्य भव्यस्य पत्नी

[13] XII. 1. iv. या बिभर्ति बहुधा प्राणद्

[14] I. 32. iii, यद्रोदशी रेजमाने भूमिश्च निरतक्षतं आर्द्रं तदद्य सर्वदा समुद्रस्येव...

[15] XII. 1. viii.

[16] X. 8. xiii. प्रजापतिश्चरति गर्भे अन्तर दृश्यमानो बहुधा वि जायते

[17] XII. 1. 37.

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earth[18] being the son of the earth,[19] we can only conclude that these statements are intended to glorify the divinity that is the earth.

The earth is the cow and Agni is the calf;[19] and yet Manu was the calf and the earth the vessel. Vena who established the earth and the heaven, made the former his abode; and his son, Pṛthu, milked cultivation from her.[20] She is again Aditi, who has a certain mystic halo around her particularly in the Ṛgveda.[21] She is attached also to Rudra,[22] while Time makes her great.[23] These details invest the earth with supreme religious and mystic significance which is a necessary feature of an exalted patriotism. It is in this Atharva Vedic spirit that we have the popular saying: "*Jananī janma bhūmis ca svargād api garīyasī.*" And Damayanti's reply to the messenger of the gods in Śrīharṣa's Naiṣadha is actually in this tradition.[24]

An earth that sustains life, that begets life and that is immortal, is bound to offer various ways of mitigating the evils of ill-health. She offers rich material for curing the ills of the body and mind. And if the Atharva Veda speaks of certain herbs and the like, it is in this light. It is not because that the Veda is replete with sorcery, but because it must show man the way to preserve himself from all the enemies of life so that man can lead a truly spiritual and social life. The earth is the mother of the medicinal plants[25] as she is the mother of everything else.

Coming to a closer examination of the invocation to Pṛthivī, we find a profound interpretation of the political, national and religious consciousness of Atharvan. This mood is highly positive in giving expression to the importance of human society and to the geographical structure of the land. The love of the land is not merely a love for one's own kith and kin. It is a love for the persons and things as well. In certain exalted moments of patriotism we generally find that it is a

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[18] VI, 86. ii. समुद्र ईशे स्रवतमग्निः पृथिव्या वशी

[19] IV. 39. ii. पृथिवी धेनु स्तस्य अग्निर्वत्सः

[20]. VIII. 9 xxiv

[21] XII. 1. 61. त्वमस्यावपनी जनानां अदितिः कामदुघा पप्रथाना

[22] XI. 2. x. तवचतस्रः प्रदिश स्तव द्यौः तव पृथिवी

[23] XIX' 54. ii कालेन पृथिवी मही

[24]. See Canto VI.

[25] III. 23. vi. यासां द्यौः पिता पृथिवी माता समुद्रो मूलं वीरुधां बभूव
cp. VIII. 7. ii.

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deep love for the places and for the traditions of the land. It is in this light that the Atharva Vedic seer gives us an account of the material resources and characteristics of the land. He is jubilant over the ascents, advances and the plains of the country.[26] The very hills and plains are attractive enough to inspire rich thoughts of loveliness and sublimity. The mortals are born from the earth and they move about. In like manner the earth begets the quadrupeds too. The five races of men belong to her, they are her children. The effulgence of the immortal dawns brings forth new life and vigour which are extended by the sun[27]. The ocean and the rivers and the waters, food and agriculture, have come into being on the earth; and it is on the earth that everything quickens, breathes and stirs[28]. The four quarters too belong to her, and she bears the manifold variety of the animate creation, treating them all alike with love[29]. She is the home for cows, horses and birds. Her streams are spread in all directions and they flow uniformly without any obstruction. She is the land of many streams, which in itself is enough to reveal her vast extent. Such an earth is requested to sprinkle her radiant lustre over the people[30]. The hills and rivers are closely related to one another, and they in turn are related to the forests and creepers. The hills, snowy mountains and forest lands are pleasant to the seer[31]. She is the source of various powerful herbs[32], and she thus becomes the mother of all herbs[33]. This is an awe-inspiring spectacle and it constitutes an organic unity that is capable of evoking the most grateful feelings towards the mother of all creation. This aspect of the country is a part of our heritage and the common man in the country-side is always conscious of same.

The cattle-wealth was a treasure highly prized throughout the Vedas and later too. We have made a passing reference earlier to cows and

[26] XII. 1. ii. असंबाधं बध्यतो मानवानां यस्या उद्वतः प्रवतः समं बहु
[27] XII. 1. 15. येश्यो ज्योतिरमृतं मर्त्येभ्य उद्यन्त्सूर्यो रश्मिभिरातनोति
[28] XII. 1. 3. यस्या मिदं जिन्वति प्राणदेजत् सा नो भूमिः
[29] XII. 1. 4. यस्याश्चतस्रः प्रदिशः पृथिव्या यस्यामन्नं कृष्टयः संबभूवुः
[30] XII. 1. ix. सा नो भूमिर्भूरिधारा पयो दुहा अथो उक्षतु वर्चसा
[31] XII. 1. xi. गिरयस्ते पर्वता हिमवन्तोऽरण्यं ते पृथिवी स्योनमस्तु
[32] XII. 1 2. नानावीर्या ओषधीर्या विभर्ति
[33] XII. 1. 17. विश्वस्वं मातर मोषधीनाम्

horses. The seer refers also to the smell of the earth. The Nyāya System of Philosophy defines the earth in terms of odour and this is explicitly stated in the present hymn. Some specific and characteristic odour of the earth came into existence with her and this is shared by everything that is begotten of the earth. The poet observes that the same odour passed on to the waters, herbs, Gandharvas and Apsarasas; and he wants the earth to make him too odorous with the same so that none will hate him. It is the same odour that entered the blue lotus which was prominently displayed at the wedding of Sūrya. It is the fragrance that was first generated by the immortals. It is present in human beings. It is in heroes, in maidens, in horses, elephants and all animals[34]. This fragrance constitutes the characteristic stamp of the earth. It may mean the bewitching loveliness which the poet deeply admires, or it may be the smell of mortality, or it may mean the touch of divinity. The general spirit of the hymn favours the idea of the divinity that characterises the earth. This interpretation is further strengthened by the constant reference to honey which we have in this hymn. The poet wants to milk honey from the earth[35].

In this approach to the unity of the earth and of her creation, the poet is not partial to the kindlier aspects. He treats the terrific side of the universe in the same manner. The ferocious animals too are the children of the same mother. She underlies everything[36]. The serpent and the harsh-biting scorpion may lie hidden in a torpid state; the worm too stirs in the early rainy season with a lively form. Yet such creatures should not crawl on man[37]. The man-eating lion, the tiger, the jackal, the wolf, the scorpion and the reptile are all on the earth; but they should not harm man[38], mainly because all these should live together.

This physical and material aspect of the earth includes also agriculture. The fields grown with plants bearing corn are pleasant to the eye. The ploughed fields yielding corn are the products of the earth. The cleansing or purifying earth is patient and she is sustained by

[34] XII. 1. 23 to 25.

[35] XII. 1. 7. सानो मधु प्रियं दुहामथो उक्षतु वर्चसा

[36] XII. 1. 34. भूमे सर्वस्य प्रतिशर्वरी

[37] XII, 1. 46.

[38] XII, 1. 49.

worship. On such an earth the poet wants to take a little rest to enjoy the food, prosperity and the refreshments she yields to man.[39] She offers rice and barley in particular [40]. The fields are enumerated not merely for the utility they serve, but for the vision of beauty which they offer to the reflective mind.

There are hidden in the bowels of the earth many a treasure of gold and jewellery. The earth being the giver of the good will bestow good things on them; and so the divine one is requested to assign these things to the human beings with a favourable mind[41]. Rocky earth, stone and dust are held together by the earth who has a golden breast; and to such a resplendent mother does the seer pay his homage.[42] She is the bounteous mother, the repository of wealth and wisdom. All these facts have entered into the poetic vision of the seer, and they constitute one aspect of his attitude. This attitude refers to the sphere of enjoyment. The earth on which we live is the theatre meant for us. It is the field for human sport and pleasure. Yet this pleasure, as we shall shortly see, is tinged with a certain religious attitude which purifies and ennobles it.

This Earth is primarily meant for the Aryans who constitute one homogeneous unit of thought and culture. There were many others besides. But if the purpose of the creation were to be fulfilled and if man were to evolve himself into a full-grown form, he must needs know everything about the earth. Such knowledge appears to be unknown to the non-Aryans. As such the seer tells us that the earth abandons the god-insulting barbarians or 'dasyus', as a result of which she chose to be with Indra and not with Vṛtra[43] In other words, the seer contemplates a time when the Aryan deities alone will remain on the earth. The descendants of Manu must people the land without any fear of over-crowding it[44]. The earth has to make wide room for the Aryans[45]. In the centre of the earth, in her navel, the seer would

[39] XII. 1. 29. विमृग्वरीं पृथिवीमावदामि क्षमां भूमिं ब्राह्मणा वावृधानां···
निषिदेम भूमे

[40] XII. 1. 42. यस्यामन्नं व्रीहियवौ

[41] XII. 1. 44. वसूनि नो वसुदा रासमानादेवी दधातु सुमनस्यमाना

[42] XII. 1. 26. तस्य हिरण्य वक्षसे पृथिव्या अकरं नमः

[43] XII. 1. 37. परान् दस्यून् ददती देवपीयूनिन्द्रं वृणाना···

[44] XII. 1. 2 पृथिवी न प्रथताम्

[45] XII. 1. 1.

like to occupy a strong position[46]. The seer has stood on the earth unharassed, unsmitten and unwounded[47]; and this can be, on the assumption of the poet, due to the great mysterious power of the earth and of his own power. The seer wants to be established on unfaltering feet on the earth. Whether he is sitting, or standing, or striding, he should not falter[48]. All the directions of the earth should be and are pleasant to the poet to move about; and since he is well supported by the earth, there should not be any possibility of his falling down[49]. Since he is one of the first to colonise the land, he has a certain genuine pride in his achievement. He therefore observes that being mighty he is superior to every one else on this his mother land. He subdues others, and he is all-overpowering and vanquishing in every region[50]. This feeling of superiority and the consequent pride have arisen precisely because he is conscious of the fact that the Earth is his mother and that he is her son[51]. This consciousness is one of the noblest; and it is at the back of the composition of this great hymn.

In the background of this relationship does the seer open his composition to declare that the Earth is the mistress of what is and what is yet to be [52]. In ancient days our gods defeated the Asuras on this earth, and our ancestors performed many a great deed[53]. Such a Land bears people of different speech and of diverse customs and manners in many places[54]. Diverse groups live here enjoying equal rights and status; and consequently they were able to pull together as one strong and united team. This has been the peculiar prerogative of our country down the ages, a unity in the midst of diversity. When the seer requests the earth to see that no one should hate us,[55] he is directly

[46] XII. 1. 12.

[47] XII. 1. 11. अजीतोऽहतोऽध्यष्ठां पृथिवीमहम्

[48] XII. 1. 28. पद्भ्यां दक्षिणा सव्याभ्यां मा व्यधिष्महि भूम्याम्

[49] XII. 1. 31. मा निपप्तं भुवने शिश्रियाणः

[50] XII. 1. 54. अभीषाडस्मि विश्वाषाडाशामाशां विषासहिः

[51] XII. 1. 12. माता भूमिः पुत्रो अहं पृथिव्याः

[52] XII. 1. 1. सा नो भूतस्य भव्यस्य पत्नी

[53] XII. 1. 5. यस्यां पूर्वे पूर्वजना विचक्रिरे यस्यां देवा

[54] XII. 1. 45. जनं बिभ्रती बहुधा विवाचसं नाना धर्माणं पृथिवी यथौकसं सहस्रं-
धारा द्रविणस्य मेदुहां ध्रुवेव धेनु रनपस्फुरन्ती

[55] XII. 1. 18. मा नो द्विक्षत कश्चन

referring to this unifying power of the earth. The great trembling and stirring vibrations of the earth render the diversity a close knit unit. She is like an unresisting and steady cow that yields her produce to all without any distinction.

This unity becomes more significant when the poet speaks of the earth's impartial attitude. She treats the good and the bad in the same manner. There are many pathways on the earth for the people, for the chariots, and for the carts. Both the good and bad persons equally well go about freely, and the Earth does not make any distinction between them[56]. She has to protect the worshippers of the Earth from the robbers; and thus she can be gracious to them. The deadly weapon of those who waylay must be and will be kept away from these children of Earth[57]. She bears the fool and the bearer of what is heavy, she endures the death of the good and the bad, and she is even in concord with the boar.[58] She is the unoppressed and the patient one.

Heaven, Earth and the atmosphere have given this expanse to the seer; and on the other, fire, sun, waters and the gods have given him wisdom[59]. With these two privileges, man was able to establish villages, towns, hosts, gatherings and assemblies, and in these the seer would like to utter what is dear and pleasing to the Earth[60]. All those who lived on the earth in earlier times were shaken away by her just like the dust from the hooves of a horse; and yet she is the keeper or preserver of creation and she goes ahead undaunted[61]. This is one of the characteristic features of this preserver of human civilisation. She is tranquil, fragrant, pleasant, and there is a sweet drink in her udder which blesses the people[62]. Such an Earth is the noblest spectacle that man can see; and to this end the seer requests the Earth to spare his eyesight till the very end of his life. The eyesight should

[56] XII. 1. 47. ये ते पन्यानो बहवो जनायना···यैः संचरन्त्युभये भद्र पापास्तं पन्थानं जयेम

[57] XII. 1. 32.

[58] XII. 1. 48. मल्वं बिभ्रती गुरुभृद् भद्रपापस्य निधनं तितिक्षुः···

[59] XII. 1. 53. [60]. XII. 1. 56. तुषु चारु वदेम ते

[61] XII. 1-57. अश्व इव रजो दुधुवे वि तान् जनान् य आक्षियन् पृथिवीं यद जायत

[62] XII. 1. 59. शन्तिवा सुरभि स्योना कीलालोध्नी पयस्वती । भूमिरधि ब्रवीतु मे पृथिवी पयसा सह

not fail with advancing age; and it is only then that he can have the vision of the Mother Earth. He longs for such a vision for many years during which time the sun will be his ally[63]. This is similar to the Ṛgvedic wish: "*Jyokc ca sūryam dṛśe.*" It represents the belief of the Atharva Vedic Aryan in the values of this world as much as it does his faith in the spiritual world.

The love of the Earth as embodied in this hymn has a profound religious significance. The whole invocation is grounded on a religious feeling. The very opening verse makes out that the Earth is sustained by truth, by the universal law, by penance, knowledge and sacrifice. In other words, the love of the earth is grounded in the ethical and religious conceptions. An austere life of discipline devoted to the pursuit of the higher values makes the love of the Earth really significant and valuable. Truth and Ṛta are the two principles enunciated by the Upaniṣads later on as 'satyam' and 'dharmam'. These are to be understood and translated into life if at all we are true to the Earth. These presuppose 'dīkṣā' which issues into 'tapas' and 'yajña'. These principles are enumerated here as constituting the basic principles on which the Earth was grounded. And these principles make us understand that the earth has a certain divinity. This divinity is her nature in so far as she is directly related to the gods in general and to Agni in particular. Prior to the creation, we are told that the wise seers discovered the Earth in the form of the heavenly waters. The immortal heart of the Earth then lay enveloped with truth in the highest empyrean.[64] The Asvins measured her; Viṣṇu strode on her, and Indra made her free from enemies.[65] She is guarded by Indra. The gods always protect the land without faltering and without winking either.[66] She is the divine one.[67] And the architect Viśvakarmā sought her with oblation in the ocean.[68]

Agni is in the Earth and therefore also in the herbs. He is in the

[63] XII. 1. 33. यावत्तेऽभि विपश्यामि भूमे सूर्येण मेदिना

[64] XII. 1. 8. यार्णवेऽधि सलिलमग्र आसीत् यां मायाभिरन्वचरन् मनीषिणः ।
यस्या हृदयं परमे व्योमन्त्सत्येनावृतममृतं पृथिव्याः…

[65] XII. 1. 10.

[66] XII. 1. 18. महांस्त्वेन्द्रो रक्षत्यप्रमादम्…

[67] XII. 1. 44. 55.

[68] XII. 1. 60. यामन्वैच्छद्धविषा विश्वकर्मान्तरर्णवे रजसि प्रविष्टाम्…

waters, stones, cows, horses; and he is present in men too. In fact Agni is the animating principle of the Earth[69] and he is immanent in the created. The Earth is therefore fire-clad.[70] This aspect of the Earth's nature makes the sacrifice significant. The sacrifice is either an external activity or an internal one or even both. In any form it cannot be rejected. The rejection of the sacrifice amounts to the rejection of the Earth. Dharma as such can exist only on the Earth and not on any other globe. It is when there is performance of Dharma that we can expect the Earth to give us breath and life.[71] And such an Earth alone can bestow strength, lustre and authority on the 'Rāṣṭra'.[72] The idea of patriotism is thus linked with that of Dharma. The two cannot be separated. They are the two aspects of the same entity. This unification is one distinct feature of Indian culture throughout our history; and its highest embodiment is to be gathered from the Gītā.

The dedication to such a divine and virtuous mother is a noble and exalted one. The seer warns us not to touch or insult the vital parts and the heart of this Mother.[73] She is a vessel to be enjoyed, but she was deposited in secret; only the wise that have mothers and that know their mothers, they alone can understand her and derive all the enjoyment that a mother can confer on her children. In other words, there is happiness only for the wise in thought and in action.[74] She is therefore the wish-fulfilling Aditi, whose deficiencies can be adjusted only by Prajāpati who is the first and the eldest child of Ṛta.[75] This all-supporting Earth[76] is conceived also as the spouse of Parjanya, the term only meaning one who is closely attached.[77] And she becomes the field of all great action.[78]

The Earth is supported and maintained by Dharma[79] which holds

[69] XII. 1. 19. अग्निर्भूम्या मोषधीष्वग्नि मापो विभ्रत्यग्नि रश्मसु । अग्निरन्तः पुरुषेषु गोष्वश्वेष्वग्नयः ।

[70] XII. 1. 21. अग्निवासाः पृथिवी

[71] XII. 1. 22. भूम्यां देवेभ्यो ददति यज्ञं हव्यमरङ्कृतम् । भूम्यां मनुष्या जीवन्ति स्वधयान्नेनमर्त्याः । सा नो भुमिः प्राणमायुर्दधातु···

[72] XII. 1. 8. सा नो भूमिस्त्विषिं वलं राष्ट्रे दधातूत्तमे

[73] XII. 1. 35.

[74] XII. 1. 60.

[75] XII. 1. 61.

[76] XII. 1. 27.

[77] XII. 1. 42.

[78] XII. 1. 5, 10. 18, 41 etc.,

[79] XII. 1. 17. ध्रुवां भुमिं पृथिवीं धर्मणा धृताम्

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firmly together.[80] Earlier she was in a liquid or gaseous form when there was neither morality, nor religion, nor philosophy. There was a physical and even a spiritual darkness pervading everywhere. Wisdom and penance alone could take it out; and accordingly the seers are credited with the creation of the Earth. It is to the seer that the Earth is manifested or revealed like a loving and pleasing and inspiring mother.[81] The seer is 'mātṛman', one who is spiritually devoted to his mother. It is such expressions that give an exalted lyrical fervour to the hymn. And the conception of the Earth as the Mother prescribes the principles of tolerance, peace and persuasion which alone constitute the advanced stages of a well-organised civic life.[82] Hence it is that inspite of the diversity prevailing on the earth,[83] all the people are united. They could sing and dance together in times of peace,[84] forgetting all ideas of war, and they could beat their drums and go to the battlefield as a single unit when the call came for battle.[85] This is sure to remind one of what Pericles said of Greece in his famous funeral oration. The unity and the spirituality of the Land and its peoples is no empty deification. It is intended to give a certain dignity to the nature of the individual. The individual is divine as the seer observes. This divinity and man's inherent pursuit of Dharma glorify him to the status of the son of the Earth. Not only does man get his physical and spiritual elements from the Earth, even the creation and manifestation of the Earth and of man are attributed to the seer. It is within this atmosphere that we have the fervour of the hymn.

The civic life referred to in this hymn has a value inasmuch as it reveals the existence of a fully developed society and the acceptance of some principles which constitute the life of such a society. The life

[80] XII. 1. 26. सा भूमिः संधृता धृता

[81] XII. 1. 60. या मन्वैच्छद्धविषां विश्वकर्मान्तरर्णवे रजसि प्रविष्टाम्। भूजिष्य पात्रं निहितं गुहा यदाविर्भोगे अभवन मातृमद्भ्यः

[82] XII. 1. 44 cp. XII, 1. 56 ये ग्रामाः यदरण्यं याः सभा अधि भूम्यां···तेषु चारु वदेम ते

[83] XII. 1. 45. cp. XII. 1. 47. यच्छिवं तेन नो मृड

[84] XII. 1. 41. यस्यां गायन्ति नृत्यन्ति भूम्यां मर्त्या व्यैलबाः। युध्यन्तु यस्यामाक्रन्दो यस्यां वदति दुन्दुभिः। सा नो भूमि प्रणुदतां सपत्नानसपत्नं मा पृथिवी कृणोतु

[85] XII. 1. 2. पृथिवी नः प्रथतां राध्यतां नः

of the Vedic individual was in a certain atmosphere of Ṛta or Dharma; and this cannot be ignored in the consideration of any aspect of his life. The society too is governed by Dharma which is the ultimate moral law of the Universe. This moral law helps the development of the individual and of the society as well.

To begin with, it is the society that precludes any possibility of overcrowding. There is to be enough room for the individuals to move about.[85] It is a society that subsists on agriculture which was consciously cultivated for rice and barley. Still it is not a pastoral or nomadic civilization. As we have seen earlier, the seer has the clear vision of the unity of the country, a unity that is both material and spiritual. This vision is clearly embodied in the line: *"Sa no bhūmis tvishim balam rāṣṭre dadhāt ūttame."*[86] The seer uses explicitly the word "rāṣṭra," and it can only mean the State as it is technically called. It is a political and cultural unit. And the seer refers not to a simple 'rāṣṭra', but to 'uttama rāṣṭra', to the best or noblest State or Country. It is an administrative unity comprising of many subordinate units. And the political state needs strength and effulgence. And the individual offers his prayers for the State inasmuch as he is an organic member of the State. He owes his greatest duty to it. The State or the Country, it may be incidentally remarked here, is identical with the Earth. And then all his invocation to the Earth is in reality a grand invocation to his own country. It is this attitude which places the entire hymn on a footing different from that of the rest.

As a member of the State the poet is able to declare that he is not vanquished, not wounded, not killed either. This status is one of pride and he confidently declares it.[87] This outlook does not allow the individual to tolerate any one who tries to interfere with his liberty by attacking him or by trying to kill him.[88] Still he moves to a loftier note when he observes the noble truth that all the citizens are the children of the same land. All are born of the same land and all move in the same land. This tolerance does not admit serious internecine

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86 XII. 1. 8.

87 XII. 1. 11. अजीतोऽहतो अक्षतोऽध्यष्ठां पृथिवी महम्

88 XII. 1. 14. यो नो द्वेषत् पृथिवी यः पृतन्याद्योऽभिदासान् मनसा योवधेन ।
तं नो भूमे रंधय पूर्व कृत्वरि

conflicts.[89] In other words, differences in a homogeneous cultural unit are tolerated, since these differences do not lead to major destructive conflicts. It is therefore said that the Earth has rejected the god-insulting 'dasyus,' and chose Indra as her ruler, not Vṛtra.[90]

This homogeneity as constituting the basic principle of all civic life appears indirectly in some other verses. We find an interesting statement to the effect that the human beings belonging to the society or land to which Atharvan himself belonged sing and dance together in times of peace. The cultural activities demand the participation of all the members, and they are not the prerogatives of a select few only. And when they hear the sound of the trumpet calling them to the field of battle, they move together since they cannot admit a powerful rival ruling over them at any cost.[91] This division of human activities into the duties of war and peace is a healthy symptom of a living and dynamic social structure.

This society contains people of various temperaments. They have different natures or characteristics. And yet the Land treats them all alike like a cow.[92] These differences do not accentuate the disintegration of the society. On the other hand, they promote greater sympathy and offer a wider outlook to the members. The members are able to appreciate the viewpoints of one another and thereby adjust themselves amicably. It appears to be a free organisation of free individuals who are dedicated to the pursuit of certain fundamental values. These values are all derived from the same source as the comparison of the Land to a cow reveals.

In an outward sense too it is an organised society in which the Vedic individual had his being. At one place in this hymn he refers to the pathways. These roads are innumerable (bahavaḥ). There are roads exclusively for men (janāyanāḥ), and there are separate paths or tracks for chariots and carts. The track of the chariot is 'vartmā'. On these roads the good and the bad alike move in the same manner, though he

[89] XII. 1. 15. त्वज्जाता स्त्वयि चरन्ति मर्त्या स्त्वं बिभर्षि···

[90] XII. 1. 37. परा दस्यून् ददती देवपीयू निद्रं वृणाना पृथिवी न वृत्रम्

[91] XII. 1. 41. यस्यां गायन्ति नृत्यन्ति भूम्यां मर्त्या व्यैलबाः । युध्यन्ते यस्या-
माक्रन्दो यस्यां वदति दुन्दुभिः ।

[92] XII. 1. 45. जनं बिभ्रती बहुधा विवाचसं नानाधर्माणं पृथिवी यथौकसम् । सहस्र"
धारा द्रविणस्य मे दुहां ध्रुवेव धेनुरनपस्फुरन्ती

wants to be free from the foe and the thief here.[93] And as it has been said, the pride of the individual lay in conquering and controlling the elements inimical to the society.[94]

This society is advanced in various other ways The State not only comprises villages (grāmāḥ) but also towns and cities. This seems to be the meaning of the verse where the word 'grāma' is juxtaposed with 'sabhā' which is a gathering or association of the learned and the cultured. Such associations are to be located neither in the village (grāma), nor in the woods (araṇya), nor even on the battle-field (saṃgrāma). The 'sabhā' is associated with an association or society of the cultured (samiti) which is situated in the towns. 'Sabhā' and 'samiti' constitute the two wings of the cultural activity which includes the cultivation of fine arts and the training of a student in social ethics, religion and philosophy.[95] And it is to such a society that the individual is dedicated. But this dedication is not detrimental to the interests and aims of the individual since it is well recognised that the individual is happy only in the society.[96]

From the standpoint of poetry too this hymn is interesting. Not only do we come across a variety of anuprāsas here, but we have a series of lovely images and ideas. The very opening verse speaks of the Earth as the 'patnī' (the mistress) of what is and what will be. This is a novel conception involving a concrete image of time. We have in poetry only specific specialised images of time. But here we have a static and yet a dynamic image in the form of a being whose mistress the Earth is. The very word chosen implies the participation of the earth in the sacrifices, as it is said—पत्युर्नो यज्ञ संयोगे. And we have seen the intimate connection between the earth and Dharma.

The second verse explains derivatively the meaning of the term 'pṛthivī' when it reads—'पृथिवी नः प्रथताम्' . She is described in one verse as "विश्वंभरा, वसुधानी, हिरण्यवक्षा, जगतो निवेशनी" All these are significant

93 XII. 1. 47. ये ते पन्थानो बहवो जनायना रथस्य वर्त्मानसश्च यातवे । यैः संचरन्त्युभये भद्र पापा स्तं पन्थानं जयेमानमित्र मतस्करम्

94 XII. 1. 54.

95 XII. 1. 56. ये ग्रामा यदरण्यं याः सभा अधिभूम्याम् । ये संग्रामाः समितय स्तेषु चारु वदेमते

96 XII. 1. 62. उपस्थास्ते अनमीवा अयक्ष्मा अस्मभ्यं संतु पृथिवि प्रसूताः । दीर्घं न आयुः प्रतिबुध्यमाना वयं तुभ्यं बलि हृतः स्याम् ।

and aptly chosen appellations. They clearly bring forth all that is at the back of the poet's mind while composing the hymn.

In the seventh stanza we get the image of the Earth as a Cow; and yet she is to yield not milk but honey. Here we have a highly compressed and complicated metaphor which involves at least three objects. This Earth is to sprinkle us with splendour. Here splendour (varcas) has become a shower of rain. The next verse speaks of the immortal (amṛtam) heart (hṛdayam) of the Earth. It is difficult to image this since the Earth is said to let other animated beings breathe. The waters, in the ninth verse, are circulating (paricarāḥ). This is a naturalistic description of a scene investing the rivers with the property of the ocean, thus resulting in the transference of the epithet. These waters too do not yield water but milk (payo duhām). The same idea of yielding milk comes in the next stanza where the seer images himself as the child (mātā putrāya). The seer becomes here a calf.

The centre of the Earth is considered as her navel (nābhyam) in the twelfth. The idea of a mother again crops up here माता भूमिः, पुत्रो अहं, पर्जन्यः पिता '' Parjanya, the deity presiding over the monsoons, is the father that gives the needed rain; and the Earth becomes favourable for the growth of the harvest. By an extension of this metaphor the poet becomes her child.

In the 16th verse we come across the speech of honey or the honey of speech (vāco madhu). Stanzas 19 and 20 image Agni as the immanent principle in the Earth and in all Earthly beings. This immanence is intended to reveal the close connection between the Earth and the sacrifice and Dharma. Even then, it is an unusual image in so far as it is not easy to picture it clearly. A volcano submerged may be the nearest to it; but unlike the volcano, the Agni in the Earth is beneficial as the Vedic seers conceived. It may be like the so-called fire in the Sami tree. Its real meaning seems to be mystic inasmuch as the soul that is immanent in every organism is always taken to be of the nature of fire. In the 21st verse the Earth becomes 'Agnivāsāḥ', having the cloth of Agni. She is even black-kneed (asitajānūḥ). The status that is given to fire appears in connection with the fragrance of the Earth in stanzas 23 to 25.

With all this the Earth has 'हिरण्य वक्षस्'. in the 26th. The Earth is imaged as a purifier in the next two verses. As a purifier.

she can be treated as a stream or fire. And yet in the 35th we hear of the vital parts and heart of the Earth. The valour of Indra and the acceptance of this deity by the Vedic Aryans is expressed in a beautiful manner in the 37th. There we are told that the Earth chose Indra instead of Vṛtra. Here we have volition and the like attributed to the Earth on the assumption that the Earth is identical with all the beings that have their being in her. This transference occurs at many places and it only goes to reveal the profound experience of the poet. It is an experience that tries to vision the identity of the people with their land. It is both nationalistic and mystic.

In the 42nd we again hear that the spouse of the Earth is Parjanya and that she is fattened by rain. In the next verse she is treated as 'विश्वगर्भा'. She is 'devī' and 'सुमनस्यमाना' in the 44th verse. She has a favouring mind. Wealth is imaged as a flowing stream (dhārā) in the next one; and the Earth herself becomes a steady and unresisting cow. We come across a beautiful image in the 51st. The two-footed winged ones fly to her together; they are the swans, eagles, hawks and birds. Mātariśvan goes about her raising clouds of dust and setting the trees in motion, and flames blow after the blowing of the wind. All these images are narrated in one quick succession in the same stanza, and they clearly bring forth the idea of a storm and its concrete presentation.

Night and day, the black and the ruddy are disposed on the earth; and the broad earth herself is wrapped and covered with rain (st. 52). In the 57th verse we find that the dead are compared to the dust clinging to the hoof of the horse; and the horse by implication is the Earth. It is to the 'aśva' and not to the mare that the Earth is compared here.

In the 59th verse we read of the tranquil, fragrant and pleasant udder of the Earth. It is an udder rich with sweet milk (पयस्वती). In the next she is spoken of as an enjoyable vessel (भुजिष्यं पात्रम्) ; and this cannot be taken literally. It only implies that the Earth is the place for enjoying life. As such she is said to be known only to the 'mātṛmān.' In the 61st she is the scatterer of the people (आवपनी जनानाम्), and a wish-fulfilling Aditi (कामदुघा). These epithets are significant in that they reveal the characteristic features obtaining on the Earth. And it is by dedicating ourselves to the service of such an Earth and by becoming her tribute-bearers (बलिहृतः), that we awaken to meet our long, long life (दीर्घं न आयुः प्रतिबुध्यमाना). And the hymn closes with the loveliest stanza:

भूमे मातर्निधेहि मा भद्रया सुप्रतिष्ठितम् ।
संविदाना दिवा कवे श्रियं मा धेहि भूत्याम् ।

"O Mother Earth! Kindly set me down well established. O Sage (Earth)! In concord with the Heaven, you set me in fortune and in prosperity (भूति or विभूति)". This closing invocation is as simple as the opening verse is so complex. The hymn opens with the ideas of Truth and Ṛta and the closing verse brings back an affectionate touch of intimacy born of an intense awareness of the spiritual significance of the dedication.

There are plenty of pleasant expressions employed in the hymn. Most of them have a significant resonance thus sliding into the anuprāsa and other 'śabdālaṃkāras'. A consideration of these will reveal the meticulous care taken by the poet in making his expression agree with the thought which he was to embody. The agreement or unity of these two constitutes the organic unity of the poem.

We can begin with the second verse. Here we have three sets of words. They are: "असंबाधं बध्यतो", "उद्वतः प्रवतः समम्", and नानावीर्या ओषधीर्या. There is a fourth, "पृथिवी नः प्रथतां राध्यतां नः. The repetition of the sounds is not merely for the sake of the sounds here. The second conveys a contrast, while the third has arisen from the combination of the words. The fourth repeats and yet explains one sound by another. The 'प्रथन' is not simple spreading out, but providing enough space to avoid overcrowding. The integration of the meaning with the sound is so complete that we cannot substitute any sound by another, and they together convey a rich melody.

The sixth stanza is significant for an alliterating rhyme within the line. The first half reads:

विश्वंभरा वसुधानी प्रतिष्ठा हिरण्यवक्षा जगतो निवेशनी

The falling of the cadence in "निवेशनी" is anticipated very early in the second word "वसुधानी". It is daring enough to introduce a falling rhythm in the very beginning of the line; yet it does not seem to spoil the beauty of the verse. The mineral and other deposits lie hidden in a state of repose in the earth, and this idea of repose which is vaguely connoted by the second word of this hemistich is rendered explicit in the last word with reference to all the created beings. And the beauty is further heightened by the alternating long and short syllables.

In the seventh we have प्रियं दुहा मथो उक्षतु वर्चसा and in the ninth we read "पयो दुहा मथो उक्षतु वर्चसा". This idea of milking (duḥ) is associated with the word 'ukṣatu'. This has a philological value. The word 'ukṣan' meaning a bull or an ox is united with the verb to milk. This is a case of contradiction which has been fruitfully employed here.

The eleventh provides a faint internal rhyme. But its metrical significance lies more in the way in which the long syllables are employed to convey a sense of majesty. A typical line is provided in "कृष्णां रोहिणीं विश्वरूपां ध्रुवां भूमिं पृथिवीमिन्द्रगुप्ताम्". A play on the syllables to denote mutual dependence appears in the expression "सानो भूमि वर्धयद्वर्धमाना" in the 13th verse. An approach to 'anuprāsa' can be seen in "योऽभिदासान् मनसा" occurring in the 14th. The juxtaposition of the contradictories in the same syllables appears in the 15th where we have "येभ्ये ज्योतिरमृतं मर्त्येभ्यः". An etymological explication bordering on a 'śabdālamkāra' can be seen in the expression "धर्मणा धृताम्" (17 st.). An 'antyānuprāsa' is to be gathered from "एजथुर्वेपथुष्टे" (18 st.). This internal rhyming is carried further in the 28th:

उदीराणा उतासीना स्तिष्ठन्तः प्रक्रामन्तः

But a better and a more pleasant internal rhyming aided by a falling cadence appears in the 44th verse:

निधिं बिभ्रती बहुधा गुहा वसु
मणिं हिरण्यं पृथिवी ददातु मे
वसूनि नो वसुदा रासमाना
देवी दधातु सुमनस्यमाना

Here the syllables chosen for the internal rhyming are really significant of the characteristic nature of the Earth. At the same time the sweetness characteristic of the sounds shows a certain familiarity between the seer and his deity. Moreover, the repetition of the syllables in ददातु and दधातु makes out that it is intentionally composed thus. The seer thereby heightens the beauty of the composition. A similar deliberate employment of sounds can be seen in the 54th where we find the words 'अभीषाड्', 'विश्वाषाड्' and 'विषासहिः' employed together in the same hemistich. And all this labour is to be taken into consideration only because the poet has plainly stated that his intention is to speak the pleasant in a pleasant manner: "चारु वदेम" (56 st.). It is this insistence on the pleasant expression that heightens the value of the hymn. And the more we examine such Vedic hymns, the more are we convinced of the aesthetic nature of the Saṁhitās, specially of the Saṃhitās of *Ṛg Veda* and *Atharva Veda*.[97]

P. S. SASTRI

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[97] This is a paper presented to the Ahmedabad Session of the Oriental Conference.

Ācarya Siṃhanandin, King-Maker and Pontiff*

Historians are familiar with the Jaina tradition of a migration from Pāṭaliputra or Ujjain to Southern India led by Bhadrabāhu and/or his disciple Candragupta. The *Bṛhatkathākōśa*, the *Rājāvalikathā*, the *Bhadrabāhucarita* and the *Munivaṃsābhyudaya* speak of a group of pious Jainas forsaking the northern regions on the approach of a famine and seeking shelter in the Punnāṭa country which has been identified with the southernmost part of the Mysore State. While no one has chosen to question seriously the migration as such, few have found it possible to accept Lewis Rice's theory, based on certain Śravaṇa Belgoḷa records, that Bhadrabāhu and his disciple were no other than the last of the Śruta Kevalins and the famous Candragupta Maurya.[1] It is not my purpose in this paper to uphold or reject this or any of the other theories that have been postulated in this connection. All that I intend to convey as an introduction to the subject of my paper is to stress the almost unanimous opinion that Jainism found entry into South India at an early date. Its introduction cannot, at any rate, be pushed beyond the third century A.D., if Dr. Shama Sastri's theory is accepted.[2] Possibly it will have to be placed at the beginning of the Christian era or even a little earlier. In this land of its adoption the Jaina faith continued to prosper till the eleventh and twelfth centuries A.D. Even subsequent to this period, its condition cannot be described as having undergone progressive decay or deterioration. It received a serious setback at the hands of Hindu revivalists and this was responsible for its ceasing to be a crusading faith. The heyday of Jainism belonged undoubtedly to the Gaṅga and Rāṣṭrakūṭa times. It is true that the munificent patronage of these two ruling houses was one of the principal causes of its survival during the stirring first eleven centuries of the Christian era. But this royal support by itself can hardly explain the dynamic qualities which enabled a minority faith to succeed in its struggle for recognition. A succession of able Jaina ācāryas contributed in no little measure to this achievement. The zeal that they displayed in the cause of their religion and the subtle and successful propaganda they conducted on its behalf were undoubtedly of great value. Some of them were able to shed their theological bias and treat even of the political problems of the state. Among them were some who took an active part in the founding of states. As Dr. Saletore aptly observes: "They ceased to be mere exponents of dogma. They turned themselves into creators of kingdoms."[3] Two names stand out prominently in this respect—that of Ācārya Siṃhanandin in the case of the Western Gaṅga kingdom and of Sudatta in the case of the Hoysala. It is my purpose here to discuss the contribution of Siṃhanandin in the founding of the Gaṅga kingdom towards the close of the fourth century A.D. or the beginning of the fifth century A.D. In doing so, it shall be my endeavour to establish the contemporaneity of Siṃhanandin with Mādhava I *alias* Koṅgaṇivarman the founder of the Gaṅga dynasty and to locate the scene of their combined activities in ancient Koṅgudeśa constituting parts of the present day Salem and Coimbatore districts of the Madras State. I would also like to find an adequate explanation for one of the legends that found its way into Gaṅga charters early in the history of the family and which properly interpreted helps us in understanding the circumstances which led a brahmin family of adventurers from North India to espouse the cause of the faith of Mahāvīra.

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* Paper read at the Seventeenth Session of the All-India Oriental Conference, Ahmedabad.

[1] *Introduction to the Epigraphia Carnatica*, vol. II, edited by Lewis Rice.

[2] *Mysore Archaeological Reports for 1923*.

Siṃhanandin appears to have been a person of some eminence in the Jaina clerical heirarchy for Indrabhūti in his "Samayabhūṣana" mentions him along with Elācārya and Pūjyapāda.[4] One of the Śravaṇa Belgoḷa records[5] speaks of him as either a contemporary or a successor of Sāmantabhadra, the guru of Sivārya or Sivakōṭi the author of Bhagavatī Ārādhana. Another inscription from the same place[6] describes Siṃhanandin as belonging to the spiritual line of the gurus of Śrī Mūla Sangha, Kundakundānvaya, Krānūrgaṇa and Meśapāsanagaccha. A third record also from Śravaṇa Belgoḷa[7] assigns him to the

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[3] Saletore: *Medieval Jainism*, p. 67.

[4] *IA.*, vol. XII, 20.

[5] *Ep. Car.*, vol. II, 54.

[6] *Ibid.*, 67.

[7] *Ibid.*, 397.

Deśika gaṇa. It is true that all the records that bear a reference to the subject of our study are comparatively late documents whose testimony cannot be used as evidence unless it is corroborated by other trustworthy and contemporary sources. It is my purpose here to find corroboration for these late references in certain facts connected with the birth of the Gaṅga kingdom and with the early history of Jainism in South India.

The Bhadrabāhu-Candragupta tradition tells us that in the course of the southern march Bhadrabāhu and his disciple remained behind at Śravaṇa Belgoḷa and the rest of the party found its way into the lands of the Cōḷas and the Pāṇḍyas. Koṅgudeśa, which lay adjacent to Punnāṭa country on the other side of the Kāveri, was undoubtedly a part of the Tamil State system of these early times. It is interesting in this connection to note that Harisena's *Bṛhatkathā Kōśa* makes mention of a saṅgha going south in the direction of the Punnāṭa country. Ptolemy speaks of a Ponnāṭa famous for its beryl. It is well known that Padiyur in the Salem district and Kangayam in the Coimbatore district are famous for their beryl deposits. Both these places were included in Koṅgudeśa. Thus it looks as if Koṅgudeśa was an appendage or part of Punnāṭa at this time[7a]. It was in this area, with Śravaṇa Belgoḷa as their headquarters, that the Jainas established the centre of their activity, from where the pontiffs directed the activities of their followers in different parts of South India and of the maṭhas that must have come to be established in the course of the penetration into Tamil land. Tradition claims that the most successful work for the cause in the south was performed by the celebrated Digambara authority Kundakunda who occupying the pontifical chair at the beginning of the first century A. D. made triumphant journeys to Pāṇḍya, Cōḷa and Cera for the purpose of preaching the Dharma and converting the people of these areas to the true faith[8]. The present maṭha at Śravaṇa Belgoḷa, founded by Cāmuṇḍarāya in the tenth century A.D., claims to belong to the Mūla saṅgha, Kundakundānvaya, Deśika gaṇa and Pustaka gaccha[9]. Śravaṇa Belgoḷa still claims to be the seat of residence of a guru claiming authority over all the Jainas of South India and recognised as the chief pontiff. It was from this centre obviously that the movement spread to different parts of Tamil Nad and Karnāṭaka. The Humcha maṭha, founded in the eighth century A.D. also claims to belong to the Kundakundānvaya.[10] The Maleyūr maṭha, now closed down, was also subordinate to the Śravaṇa Belgoḷa organisation.[11] I have already mentioned that, according to certain records from Śravaṇa Belgoḷa, Siṃhanandin belonged to the Kundakundānvaya and Deśika gaṇa.[12] Only the gaccha is seen to have been different. It is not improbable that this difference was due to the fact that he had his centre of activities in a subordinate maṭha of which he was the head. It is my opinion that this maṭha was located in Koṅgudeśa. Sri Ramachandram Chettiar has referred us to a number of ancient Jaina monasteries and temples in the Erode tāluq of the Salem district which was a part of Koṅgudeśa.[13] He makes the very interesting observation that the two Jaina priestly families that were still resident in the Erode tāluq spoke the Kanarese language and suggests that their ancestors must have originally come from Mysore. Thus it is clear that the maṭha in Koṅgudeśa was founded and directed by ācāryas belonging to the Śravaṇa Belgoḷa organisation. It is highly significant that the Koṅgudeśa Rājākkal speaks of a number of Jaina gurus in connection with the early rulers of that country who were undoubtedly Jainas.[14] All these gurus have their names ending in "Nandi". It is not improbable that our Siṃhanandin belonged to the same guruparamparā. Thus all the evidence at our disposal seems to point to Koṅgudeśa as the scene of Siṃhanandin's spiritual activity.

[7a] A recent writer (Dr. M. Arokiaswami: "Punnāṭa Country", *Journal of the Madras University*, vol. XXIII, Nos. 1 & 2, p. 75) lends support to this view when he speaks of the Punnāṭa kingdom of the fifth century A.D., as having been composed of southern Mysore and northern Coimbatore regions.

[8] *IA.*, XX, XXI, Digambara Paṭṭāvaḷis.

The period of Siṃhanandin will now have to be determined. Sāmantabhadra who is mentioned either as a contemporary or an immediate predecessor of Siṃhanandin in a Śravaṇa Bengoḷa record is assigned by scholars to the fifth century A.D.[15] Pūjyapāda with whom our ācārya is mentioned in Indrabhuti's "Samayabhūṣan-"

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[9] *Mysore* vol. I, p 461; edited by Lewis Rice.

[10] *Ibid.*

[11] *Mysore Gazetteer*, vol. I, p. 228.

[12] *Ep. Car.* II, 67 and 397.

[13] *Quarterly Journal of the Mythic Society*, vol. XXV.

[14] Mackenzie Mass.; M.J.L.S. XIV; *JRAS.*, VII.

[15] *Mysore Gazetteer*, vol. II, Pt. 1, p. 406.

is also assigned to the fifth century A.D.[16] Elācārya also figures in Indrabhūti's work along with Siṃhanandin. He must not be treated as the guru of Sākatāyana who flourished in the fourth century B.C.[17] There were several persons who bore the name. For example we find one figuring as the guru of Ereyappa a much later Gaṅga king.[18] The Elācārya under discussion must have been an earlier one than this person and may have also belonged to the fifth century A.D. There is justification, therefore, in assigning Siṃhanandin to the fifth century A.D. Possibly his period can be shifted a little earlier, namely the closing decades of the fourth century A.D. It should be noted that the dates assigned to Siṃhanandin's contemporaries mentioned above are all rough approximations and a slight shift of ten or fifteen years this side or that does not seem unjustifiable. This is the period which saw the beginnings of Gaṅga rule. The Śāsanakōṭa grant of Mādhava II the immediate successor of the founder has been assigned to the year A.D. 425 on paleographical grounds.[19] This is dated in the first regnal year of Mādhava II. Thus the founder's reign must have come to a close by the end of the first quarter of the fifth century A.D. Assigning the usual 25 years for all unspecified reigns we may place the start of his reign at the beginning of the century. I propose pushing this period back by ten years, for Koṅgaṇivarman had an earlier period of rule in Koṅgudeśa before coming to Gaṅgavāḍi proper at the behest of the Pallavas.

Let me now proceed to present the evidence with reference to Siṃhanandin's part in the founding of the Gaṅga kingdom. The earliest of the Gaṅga charters to mention him is a seventh century grant belonging to the reign of Śivamāra I (A.D. 679-725).[20] Although the name of the munipati is missing, there is an unmistakable reference to him in the statement that the founder Koṅgaṇivarman was acting on the advice of the Jaina teacher. The Udayendiram grant of Pṛthivīpati II, belonging to the tenth century A.D.,[21] attests to the Gaṅga kingdom obtaining prosperity due to the blessings of the great Siṃhanandin. The Kūḍlūr plates of Mārasiṃha II,[22] also of the tenth century, tell us that "he (the founder) obtained strength of arm and valour by the favour of Siṃhanandi ācārya." The Humcha stone of an eleventh century Śāntara prince[23] refers to the hero of our narrative as "the ācārya who made the Gaṅga kingdom." An old commentary on the "Gommatasāra"[24] states that the Gaṅga family prospered by the blessings of Siṃhanandin. There is, therefore, ample support in Gaṅga records for associating Siṃhanandin with the foundations of the kingdom. The contemporaneity between him and the founder Koṅgaṇivarman has already been established. There is, in view of this contemporaneity and in view of the references in Gaṅga records, nothing improbable in the claim made on behalf of the ācārya.

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[16] *IA.*, XLIII, p. 211.

[17] *IA.*, XII, 20.

[18] *MAR.* 1914.

[19] *EI.*, vol. XXIV.

[20] The Kulgāṇa grant; MAR. 1925.

[21] *SII.*, vol. II.

[22] *MAR.*, 1920-21.

It might be legitamately asked as to why this phase of early Gaṅga history does not figure in the early charters of the dynasty. There seems to have been an adequate reason for this. Although Koṅgaṇivarman became a convert to Jainism, the early Gaṅgas showed a strong predilection towards the brahminic religion, for we find that almost all of them are seen making grants to learned brahmins.[25] In the post-Śātavāhana period there came about a Hindu revival and Jaina literature is replete with references to the anxious times that the minority faith had to pass through and to its efforts at establishing its ancient origin for the purpose of enhancing its prestige in its struggle for recognition. It can be said to have fought a losing battle in Gaṅgavāḍi till the close of the seventh century, after which we find the Gaṅga monarchs adhering more steadily to the faith of their ancestor. It is from this time onwards that certain legends connected with the conversion of the founder find their place in the charters. A decade after the establishment of his power in Koṅgudeśa the founder Koṅgaṇivarman, who has been shown elsewhere to have been a political adventurer from the north,[26] transferred the scene of his activities to the present day Kōlār region of the Mysore state and the adjoining Cuddapah and Anantapur districts of the Andhra state at the invitation of the Pallavas. The early sovereigns till the time of Mādhava III *alias* Siṃhavarman, the donor of the Penukoṇḍa grant, were staunch allies of the Pallavas from whom they accepted investiture. The Pallavas are well known to have been adherents of the orthodox Hindu faith. Even after the Mysore rulers were able to shake off their Kāñcī ties and to seek new affinities with the Karṇāṭaka Cāḷukyas of the Deccan the situation did not alter materially. The Cāḷukyas were also ardent champions of the orthodox Hindu faith. It was only with the replacement of the Cāḷukyas by the Rāṣṭrakūṭas towards the end of the first quarter of the eighth century that the climate became congenial for Jainism to establish once again its supremacy in Gaṅgavāḍi. It is this losing battle that Jainism had to wage till the eighth century and to the political loyalties of the early Gaṅgas that we have to attribute the reluctance of these early Gaṅgas to acknowledge the Jaina auspices under which their power was founded in Koṅgudeśa.

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[23] *Ep. Car.*, VIII, Nr. 35.

[24] *MAR.*, 1921.

[25] The Śāsanakōṭa, Nandi, Beṇḍiganahalli, Penukoṇḍa and other early charters.

[26] A. R. Baji: "The Origin of the Western Gaṅgas": *Journal of Indian History*, vol. XXX, August 1952, p. 190 ff.

It has been previously stated that Koṅgudeśa was the scene of Siṃhanandin's spiritual activity. It will now be my endeavour to prove that it was in this region that the Siṃhanandin-Koṅgaṇivarman alliance was forged. Certain inscriptions from the Shimoga region of the Mysore state[27] give us a detailed description of the circumstances leading to this alliance. These records speak of Mādhava I *alias* Koṅgaṇivarman coming along with his brother and sister from the direction of Ahicchatra when their ancestral kingdom was attacked by the neighbouring king of Ujjain. The Gaṅga princes along with their sister are said to have been sent along with "forty eight brahmins who were on their way to the south." I have elsewhere suggested that this brahmin migration from Ahicchatra was to Kuntala.[28] Kadamba tradition speaks of several such brahmin families being brought from Ahicchatra to Kuntala and of their being settled in Sthānaguṇḍūru.[29] It is not unlikely that the founder of the dynasty in the south Mādhava I accompanied one of these migrating groups to Kuntala. Having arrived in Kuntala, he started exploring possibilities of reviving the political fortunes of his family in the politically unsettled South India of the post-Samudragupta period. Finding the Kadambas safely entrenched in Kuntala and the adjoining areas of the Mysore state he proceeded further south into Koṅgudeśa. The Shimoga records referred to above tell us that in the course of this southern march Mādhava came to Pērūr where he met Siṃhanandin who helped him to found a kingdom. Pērūr hitherto has been identified with Gaṅga-Pērūr in the Cuddapah district of the Andhra state. The appellation 'Gaṅga' and the proximity of the Cuddapah region to the Kōlār region, which witnessed the beginnings of Gaṅga rule in Mysore, have been put forward as evidence in this connection.[30] It is, however, highly improbable that the Cuddapah region was the scene of the meeting, if the foregoing theory of Gaṅga migration to South India is worthy of credence. The Gaṅga accounts leave us in no doubt whatsoever that Pērūr was an important centre of Jaina activity and that Siṃhanandin was the head of the church. At the time that the Gaṅga power came to be founded Jainism had not yet fully penetrated into Andhra. At the close of the fourth century A.D. the activities of the Jainas were still confined to Karnāṭaka and Tamilnāḍ. It is significant that the Gaṅga route of migration to Koṅgu from the north was also through the Karnāṭaka Kadamba territory. The inference becomes inescapable that from Karnāṭaka the Gaṅga ancestor moved into Koṅgudeśa, a part of Tamilnāḍ, and not into Āndhra.[31] It is in the land of the Tamils, therefore, that Pērūr must have been located. There is a Pērūr located seven miles to the south west of the town of Coimbatore and it is probable that this is the Pērūr referred to in Gaṅga inscriptions. Future research and excavations may throw some light on the importance of Pērūr as a centre of Jainas. This identification fits in well with the evidence I have already put forward to suggest Koṅgudeśa as the region where Siṃhanandin was operating. Sri S. V. Venkateswara also arrived at this conclusion but from a different standpoint. He makes the Gaṅgas native to Koṅgudeśa.[32] An analysis of the material available for a study of the origin of the Gaṅgas suggests a North Indian origin.[32a] It would appear, therefore, that the Gaṅgas were new arrivals in Koṅgudeśa towards the close of the fourth century A.D. They were seekers after political adventure and in Koṅgudeśa they found Siṃhanandin who could help them in reviving their political fortunes in Dakṣiṇāpatha.

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[27] *Ep. Car.*, vol. VII, Sh. 7, 10 and 64; and vol. VIII, Nr. 35.

[28] *Journal of Indian History*, *op. cit.*

[29] *IA.*, VI, p. 23; *Ep. Car.*, vol. VII, Sk. 186.

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[30] *Mysore Gazetteer*, vol. II, pt. 2, p. 591 and 614.

[31] If Perūr was not Gaṅga-Perūr in the Cuddapah district, how is the association of the latter with Gaṅgas to be accounted for? It is not impossible that the association came to be established subsequent to the conquest of the Annantapur and Cuddapah regions by Konganivarman from the Bāṇas. (see A. R. Baji: "A genealogical problem in early Gaṅga history"; *Journal of the University of Gauhati*, vol. I, pp. 24-15).

[32] *Journal of the Mythic Society*, vol. XXVI.

The "Koṅgudeśa Rājākkaḷ" offers valuable material for dealing with the Gaṅga advent in Koṅgudeśa.[33] It is a pity that this Tamil chronicle has been condemned as an utterly worthless document for historical purposes. Its faulty chronological data apart, it provides interesting and illuminating glimpses into the early history of this region. Mr. Logan observes: "It will be found that the Koṅgudeśa Rājākkaḷ is tolerably accurate in its lists of suzerain kings while like most of the other native histories it is utterly wrong as to its chronology."[34] Mr. Logan's observation is amply borne out by the accuracy of the list of Gaṅga sovereigns provided by the chronicle. Some of the events referred to in it with reference to the early Gaṅgas are seen to be corroborated in some of the early charters of the dynasty. The chronicle has been found by me to be invaluable in elucidating some of the imperfectly known aspects of early Gaṅga history.

One aspect of this early history pertains to the Jaina auspices under which Gaṅga power came to be first founded in South India. The Gaṅga rulers are well known as having been among the foremost patrons of Jainism. There is indication to be had in the Tamil chronicle and certain Śravaṇa Belgoḷa inscriptions that the patronage goes back to the days of the founder of the dynasty.

The Rājākkaḷ associates the Gaṅga family with Koṅgudeśa from the days of its founder Mādhava I *alias* Koṅgaṇivarman. The area—at least the northern part of it[35]—continued to be in Gaṅga possession till the closing decades of the ninth century A.D. when Cōḷa Āditya conquered it from them.[36] I do not know of any previous conquest of the area by any of the leading or subordinate powers of the south. Nor is there any evidence forthcoming to suggest its conquest by any of the successors of Mādhava I. It seems fairly clear, therefore, that the founder himself acquired it. In fact the title "Koṅgaṇivarman" he bore was intimately connected with the acquisition of Koṅgu by him.

[32a] *Journal of Indian History*; *op. cit.*

[33] *MJLS.*, XIV; *JRAS.*, vol. VII; the Oriental Mss. Library Edn. of the Madras Govt; Mck. Mss. Collection, Madras University.

[34] *IA.*, vol. XIV, p. 124.

[35] There is reason to believe that the southern part of Koṅgu was lost to the Pāṇḍyas after the battle of Venbai when Gaṅga Śripuruṣa was compelled to accept a humiliating treaty and offer his daughter in marriage to a Pāṇḍyan prince.

The suggestion has been made that the title "Koṅgaṇivarman" was assumed by Mādhava as a mark of achievement after the conquest of Maṇḍali in Konkāṇam.[37] There is no justification at all for assuming that Mādhava, or as a matter of that, any of the Gaṅgas, ever conquered the land to the west of the ghāṭs. Konkāṇam, does not figure anywhere in the six hundred years of Gaṅga history. The most satisfactory explanation of the title is to be found in the Koṅgudeśa Rājākkaḷ which states: "As wealth, the Koṅgu Country and great munificence were possessed by him (Mādhava) he was styled Srīmat Koṅgaṇivarman Dharma Mahādhirāja." Here is unmistakable evidence to associate the title with Mādhava's possession of Koṅgu. It appears to have been conferred on him by Siṃhanandin at the time of his investiture to the Koṅgu throne.

The Rājākkaḷ lists seven kings of the Reṭṭi tribe that ruled in Koṅgudeśa prior to Koṅgaṇivarman.[38] The mention of a number of Jaina acāryas and donations to Jaina establishments by these rulers speak of a prosperous Jaina community during this period in Koṅgu and of these rulers professing the Jaina faith. The last of these early rulers Tribhuvanadeva Cakravartin is reported to have turned a Śaivite. We find Koṅgaṇivarman of the Gaṅga family following him on the throne. A dynastic change is definitely indicated here. It also suggests that the change had something, if not everything, to do with the change of faith on the part of Tribhuvana. The keen rivalry between Jainism and Śaivism during this period is well known. By becoming a convert to the rival faith Tribhuvana appears to have lost the confidence of the acāryas and Jainas of Koṅgu necessitating the enthroning of a new ruler who would adhere to the faith of the majority of the populace. It is not unlikely that patronage, protection and personal persuasion of the prevailing faith of the state was insisted upon on the part of rulers. It is significant to recall that Siṃhanandin urged upon Koṅgaṇivarman and his successors not to deviate from the promise to protect and patronise the Jaina faith.[39] The adventurer Mādhava (Koṅgaṇivarman) appears to have not had any qualms in accepting the new faith, for by accepting it he could realise the ambition of finding a principality for himself and his successors in South India.

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[36] Sastri, K.A.N.: "Cōḷas" vol. I, pp. 137-8.

[37] Jayaswal, K. P.: "History of India, A.D. 150-350"; *Mysore Gazetteer*, vol. II, pt. 2.

[38] A recent writer has suggested that these early rulers of Koṅgu were probably an early Rāṣṭrakūṭa line in South India. (Dr. M. Arokiaswami: "A new chapter in Rāṣṭrakūṭa history": *Journal of the Madras University*, vol. XXIV, Nos. 1 & 2). It is now generally believed that the Rāṣṭrakūṭa original home was either in the Lātūr district of Hyderabad state or in the Berars. If this were so, how can the presence of a Rāṣṭrakūṭa family in Koṅgu in the third and fourth century A.D. be accounted for? It is difficult to connect the Imperial Rāṣṭrakūṭas of the eighth and ninth centuries with the Reṭṭis of Koṅgu over a span of three centuries. Dr. Arokiaswami's contention, nevertheless, needs to be explored further. It is not entirely unlikely that later day Gaṅga-Rāṣṭrakūṭa conflicts had something to do with the replacement of the Reṭṭis by the Gaṅgas three centuries earlier in Koṅgu.

There is some evidence, although slightly later, to prove the conversion of Mādhava. This is connected with the legend of the stone pillar. This legend speaks of Mādhava having cut through a stone pillar with a single stroke of his sword. No adequate explanation of this legend is forthcoming. It had been the fashion at one time to consider all grants incorporating it as spurious. Some dubious explanations were offered, however. One considered the legend as representing the destruction of Buddhism in Mysore with the coming of the Jaina Gaṅgas.[40] It should be noted that the conflict of religions in the Deccan and South India did not very much disturb the general atmosphere of amity and tolerance. Even the keen rivalry that Jainism and Śaivism displayed did not produce any considerable degree of intolerance and persecution. A campaign of destruction could hardly have been planned in this atmosphere. Some

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[39] The Shimoga records; *op. cit.*

[40] Saletore: *Medieval Jainism.*

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of the early Gaṅga rulers are seen to have made grants to Buddhists.[41] Moreover, Buddhism may be considered to have ceased to be a live force in Deccan and South India with the decline of the Ikṣvākus of Āndhra which took place more than a century earlier than the foundation of Gaṅga power in Mysore. The Brahmagiri Aśokān edict in the Chitaldoorg district, which has been cited in connection with the above theory, can hardly be taken as supporting evidence as the Brahmagiri edict is a rock edict and not a pillar edict. Sir John Fleet, whose critical views on the early Gaṅgas are well known, believed that the pillar was probably a jaya stambha. If this were really so, the motive behind its destruction is not accounted for. I find that the legend can properly be explained with the aid of a twelfth century record from Śravaṇa Belgoḷa.[42] This inscription from the Pārśvanātha basti states:

"The sharp sword of meditation on the venerable Arhat, which cuts asunder the row of pillars the hostile army of the ghāti karmas, was vouchsafed by Siṃhanandi muni to his disciple (Mādhava). Otherwise, how was the stone pillar, which barred the road to the entry of the goddess of sovereignty, capable of being cut asunder by him (Mādhava) with his sharp sword?"

Particular attention should be drawn to the stone pillar being regarded, in the first part of the above statement, as the stone pillar of the ghāti sin and the sharp sword as meditation on the venerable Arhat. In the second place, the stone pillar of the ghāti sin was standing in the way of Mādhava becoming sovereign. Lastly, Mādhava was able to cut through this obstruction, thanks to the vouchsafing of meditation on the Arhat by Siṃhanandin to Mādhava.

The Jainas believe that bandha or bondage is due to the mutual infiltration of Karma and self.[43] There are four different aspects of bondage, one of which pertains to prakriti. Karma is of eight different varieties divisible into two main groups—the "ghāti" or the destructive karmas and the "aghāti" or the non-destructive karmas. The ghāti karmas are (1) Jñānāvaraṇīya or knowledge obscuring (2) Darśanāvaraṇīya or faith obscuring (3) Antarāya or progress obstructing and (4) Mohanīya or deluding. The aghāti karmas constitute (1) Ayuh or the determination of the duration of life, (2) Nāma or the determination of the character of an individual, (3) Vedanīya or the determination of pleasure or pain and (4) Gotra or the determination of the family. Of these the ghāti karmas are the most pernicious from the point of view of bandha. Mokṣa or liberation from bandha consists in the coming of self into its own after shedding all the impurities, of which the Karmas are the most significant. The ghāti karmas could be conqu-red by meditation on the venerable Arhat. In the context of the pre-Gaṅga history of Koṅgu provided by the Koṅgudeśa Rājākkaḷ it was the stone pillar of the ghāti karma of Darśanāvaraṇīya or faith obscuring that stood in the way of the goddess of sovereignty continuing to reside in Tribhuvanadeva Cakravartin. It also stood in the way of the Hindu adventurer Mādhava from becoming sovereign of the Jaina population of Koṅgu. Siṃhanandin, therefore, initiated Mādhava into the meditations on the Arhat. Thereby, the acārya sought to prevent Mādhava from committing the same folly as his predecessor. He initiated him into the Syād Vāda doctrine,[44] which the Jainas claim to be a great synthesis of all the nayas.[45] One is led to the conclusion that the dynastic change, ushered in with the coming in of Mādhava or Koṅgaṇivarman of the Gaṅga family, was brought about through the instrumentality of the church and that Mādhava was baptised before being invested with kingly powers. It is interesting to note in this connection the advice tendered by Siṃhanandin at the time of the investiture:

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[41] The Melkōṭ plates of Mādhava (Taḍangāla), *MAR.*, 1910.

[42] *Ep. Car.*, vol. II, 67.

[43] K. K. Handiqui: "Yaśastilaka and Indian Culture", p. 251.

"If you fail in what you promise;[46] if you do not approve the Jina śāsana; if you fail to patronise the Jina mata……your race will go to ruin."[47]

Thus it came about that Jainism became an article of faith and policy with the Gaṅgas and they ruled the earth "with the blameless Jina as their companion and the Jina mata as their faith."[48]

A. R. BAJI

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[44] *Ep. Car.*, vol. VIII, Nr. 35.

[45] Handiqui, *op. cit.*, p. 289.

[46] Obviously the promise refers to the pledge given by Mādhava to patronise and protect the Jina faith.

[47] *Ep. Car.* vol. VIII, Nr. 35.

[48] *Ibid.*

Date of Bakẖt-yār's raid on Nadiyā

As early as 1813 Charles Stewart fixed the date of the invasion of Muḥammad Bakẖt-yār Kẖaljī in 1203-4 A.D.[1] In 1871, Edward Thomas agreed with Stewart and gave the date 599/1202-3.[2] But, in 1873, Major Raverty pushed back the date by 10 years[3] on the plea that Bakẖt-yār ruled in Bengal for 12 years.[4] He writes, "Were 599 H. correct, his sway over Lakhnauti would have been less than *three* years, as he was assassinated about the middle of 602 H."[5] It is not clear wherefrom the duration of twelve years for Bakẖt-yār's rule in Bengal, is obtained by Major Raverty. Hence Blochmann observed: "Major Raverty is mistaken, however, on his own authorities, when he asserts that the conquest of Bengal took place in 590 H., or A.D. 1194."[6] Blochmann himself fixed the date of Bakẖt-yār's "conquest of Bengal" in 594 or 595/ 1198 or 1199. For fixing this date he relied entirely on the evidence of *Ṭabaqāt-i-Nāṣirī*, which gives two terminal dates in the life of Muḥammad Bakẖt-yār: one is 589/1193 when he appeared before Quṭb ud-Dīn Aibak in Delhi and was rejected by reason of his humble position; and second, 602/1205-6 when he died. In between these two dates Blochmann arranges the eight main events in the life of Bakẖt-yar thus: (i) appearance in Delhi in 589 H.; (ii) acceptance of service in Badāyūn; (iii) going to Oudh, receiving fiefs of Bhagavat and Bhuili, and plundering expeditions for one or two years; (iv) conquest of Bihār and journey to Quṭb ud-Dīn; (v) "second year after his conquest of Bihār, he sets out for Bengal and takes Nadiyā"; (vi) fixing of the capital at Lakhnauti and making administrative arrangements; (vii) after some years, invasion of Tibet; (viii) return and death in 602 H. But, this method of Blochmann's calculation of the date is only conjectural, and hence N. K. Bhattasali has rightly pointed out that it "can waver on this side or that by one or two years."[7] The greatest defect in this conjecture is the fact that Blochmann has not taken into account the informations supplied by other Muslim historians, like Ḥasan Niẓāmī, Niẓām ud-Dīn Bakhshī, Farishtah and ‘Abd ul-Qādar Badāyūnī.

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[1] Stewart's *History of Bengal*, 2nd ed., 1910, p. 61.

[2] *The Chronicles of the Pathan Kings of Delhi*, p. 110.

[3] *Ṭabaqāt-i-Nāṣiri*, Eng. Tr., p. 524, footnote.

[4] *Ibid.*, p. 559, fn., 1.

[5] *Ibid.*, p. 558, fn., 7.

[6] *JASB.*, 1875, p. 276.

This confusion about the date, created by the authorities dealing with the Muslim sources, was handed down to the historians of the 20th century. Manmohan Chakravati[8] was the first to throw light on the subject from the Hindu sources. His summary of the points are given below: —

(i) In passing his judgment on the dates as proposed by Blochmann (1199 A.D.) and Edward Thomas (1202-3), he says, "The events narrated in the career of Muḥammad-i-Bakht-yār are more consistent with the earlier dates than the later ones." This judgment is not absolutely correct, as already shown by Bhattasali. The events in the life of Bakht-yār with reference to Bengal are not many. Their duration can be easily calculated. Bakht-yār died within about a month of his return from Tibet expedition, i.e. shortly after the death of Mu'iz ud-Dīn Muḥammad bin Sām, viz. 1st Sh‘abān 602/[9] 13th March 1206 by the Julian Calender. The whole Tibet expedition of Bakht-yār took about 62 days, as calculated by Bhattasali.[10] In other words Bakht-yār must have started for his Tibet expedition about the first week of January, 1206 A.D. After his dashing raid on Nadiyā, Bakht-yār, during his life-time in Bengal subjugated a portion of North-West Bengal, the boundary of which probably was the river Karatoyā on the east and the Padmā on the south. We do not hear of any prolonged war being waged for the occupation of this territory. Hence two to three years' duration is not insufficient for the consolidation of his power in this region. Accordingly the later date of Edward Thomas is not unreasonable.

(ii) "The dominion of Sulṭān Ghiyāsuddin Muḥammad-i-Sām, the elder brother of Sulṭān Mu'izuddin (who defeated

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7 *Indian Antiquary*, vol. LII., 1923, p. 320.

8 *JASB.*, 1908, pp. 151-53.

9 Raverty's translation of *Tabaqāt*, pp. 484-85.

10 *IHQ.*, 1933, p. 62.

Pṛthvī Rai), is said to have extended 'from the east of Hindustān, from the frontier of Chīn and Mā-Chīn as far as 'Irak.' This statement can be held good only if Bengal be included, as Bengal only was thought to adjoin Chīn. The expedition to Bengal, by virtue of which Bengal is included in this Sulṭān's Empire, must, therefore, have taken place before 598 H., on the 27th Jamādi I. of which he died." That this argument of Manmohan Chakravarti is too far fetched, can be shown by the evidence of Minhāj himself. On the Indian side he himself says the boundary was on "the east of Hindustan" and no mention is made here of Bengal. There was no confusion in the mind of Minhāj as regards the boundary of Lakhnauti Sulṭanate and Chīn. While speaking of the Tibet expedition of Bakht-yār, he writes, "he had ascertained the state of the different mountain tracts of Turkistān and Tibbat to the eastward of Lakhnauti, the ambition of seizing the country of Turkistān and Tibbat began to torment his brain."[11] Further ahead he writes: "Shāh Gushtāsib returned from the country of Chīn, and came towards Kāmrūd, and by that route, got into Hindustān."[12] These two extracts clearly prove that our author, Minhāj, never thought that Bengal was bordering on Chīn. On the other hand, the reference to "Hindustān" separately in a vague manner leads us to suppose that, when Minhāj was giving the extent of Ghiyāth ud-Dīn's dominion, he was more probably confining himself to his empire in Central Asia, which can be roughly said to have extended at one time upto Chīn and Mā-Chīn in the east. Bengal, or any other part of India, was not his personal acquisition. It was Mu'iz ud-Dīn who was supreme ruler here. The coins were issued and the khuṭbah read only in his name.

(iii) "The statement that when Muḥammad-i-Bakht-yār captured the Fort of Bihār, Rai Lakhmaniah of Bengal 'had been on the throne for eighty years', helps us in fixing the

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Raverty, *op. cit.*, p. 560.

Ibid., p. 561.

> date. The year evidently refers to the era of Lakṣmaṇasena, which began on 7th October, 1119 A.D. As the expedition to Nūdiah took place "the year following that', its date falls in *La. Saṁvat* 81 or A.D. 1199-1200 (596 H)."

It may at once be pointed out that further researches on the *La. Saṁ.* Era and the reign of Lakṣmaṇasena, have proved that neither this Era was founded by Lakṣmaṇasena nor did he rule for 80 years. Dr. R. C. Majumdar, the latest writer on this subject, says: "The only way by which we can reconcile the known facts is to suppose that the Era was started in Bihar, and though associated with the name of the Sena king Lakṣmaṇasena of Bengal, it was not founded by him; as otherwise it would have been in use also in his home-province of Bengal......................The view propounded above does not, however, explain the epoch of the *La. Saṁ.* current in Mithilā, viz. 1119-20 A.D. But, here too, we may trace the same idea of deliberately setting up an artificial era associated with the last Hindu ruler; only instead of counting from the end of the reign, which always evokes a painful memory, people of a later age counted from his birth. It has been stated by Minhāj that at the time of the Muslim raid on Nadiyā Lakṣmaṇasena was eighty years old. As the event took place within a few years of 1200 A.D., we may place the birth of Lakṣmaṇasena about 1120 A.D., which agrees remarkably well with the epoch of the *La. Sam.* suggested by Kielhorn, viz. 1119-20 A.D. It may be a mere coincidence that the birth of Lakṣmaṇasena falls in a year with reference to which an era called *Lakṣmaṇasena Saṃvat* is current in Mithilā. But then it must be regarded as a very strange coincidence indeed. On the whole, in the present state of our knowledge, this seems to be the least objectionable way of explaining the origin of the *La Saṁ* in Mithilā. We must, however, reject the view, held by some, that Vallālasena founded the Era on the occasion of the birth of his son Lakṣmaṇasena. For then it is very likely that the Era would have gained currency also in Bengal."[13]

Even if we accept this suggestion of Dr. Majumdar, we cannot arrive at the final date "when the Muslim invaders destroyed the Hindu kingdoms in Bihar and Bengal"; because the initial year of the *La Saṁ* Era is not yet definitely fixed. Kielhorn's calculation, no doubt, puts its beginning in 1119-20 A.D., but o[illegible] calculations have equally plausibly placed it in 1108 A.D., while the other records, listed by Dr. Majumdar, fall between them. Hence he concluded, "The artificial character of the Era, set up at a later time with reference to a past event, perhaps explains the great discrepancy in the initial years of that Era as calculated from the different instances of its use." All this hypothesis is based on the assumption that Lakṣmaṇasena's empire was destroyed in the battle at Nadiyā. But, such an assumption is hardly justified with the knowledge that we now possess of the survival of Lakṣmaṇasena till at least the year 1205 A.D., and of the Sena kingdom till at least 1242 A.D. Only a small portion of North-west Bengal fell into the hands of Bakht-yār, and his successors had to wage constant war for centuries in order to wrest the remaining portion of Bengal from the hands of the Hindus. Therefore, the origin of the *La Saṁ.* Era cannot in any way help in fixing the date of Bakht-yār's raid on Nadiyā.

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[13] *History of Bengal*, vol. I, ed. by R. C. Majumdar, pp. 235-36.

(iv) As regards the evidence of the Tājul Ma'thir on Bakht-yar's visit to Quṭb ud-Dīn from Udaṇḍ-bihār in the year 599/1202-3, M. Chakravarti remarks: "It is, however, just possible that the offering of the presents might refer to the despatching of a large portion of the booty *after* the sack of Nudiāh. *Ṭabaqāt-i* is silent as to whether Muḥammad-i-Bakht-yār himself came to Delhi at this time." Dr. K. R. Qanungo also agrees with Chakravarti and categorically remarks, "Minhāj's silence about the second and undeniable visit of Bakhtyār to Quṭb *after* the conquest of Bengal, lends support to the view that the old man's memory was at fault and that he has confounded the two visits together[14]." Before such a failing memory is attributed to Minhāj, it is wise to see other accounts. Niẓām ud-Dīn Bakhshī writes: "Malik Ikhtiyāruddīn, having with the help, and favour, and encouragement of the Sulṭān, conquered the fort of Behar, plundered and ravaged the whole of that country, and acquired much booty……In the language of Hindustan, a college is called a Behar, and as this province had formerly been a mine of learning, it had got the name of Behar. After this when Ikhtiyāruddīn joined the service of Sulṭān Kuṭbuddīn, he received many benefactions and favours from him......He conferred many rewards and favours on Ikhtiyāruddīn and entrusted the rule of the country of Lakhnauti to him, and nominated him for the duty of conquering it"[15]. Farishtah writes. "In the year 599, he (Quṭb ud-Dīn) mustered his forces, and marched against Kalunjur......the place was eventually reduced...... Kootb-ood-Deen now marched to Mahoba, the capital of the principality of Kalpy, which place he also subdued together with Budaoon, lying between the rivers Jumna and Ganges. Mahomed Bukhtyar Khiljy, who had been appointed governor of Behar by the King, but had for some time back paid little attention to the royal commands, came at this time to pay a visit to Kootb-ood-Din, conciliating him with rich presents."[16] 'Abd ul-Qādar Badāyūnī writes, "He (Bakht-yār) proceeded to Oudh and conquered that country, reduced Behar and Muner, and having taken large booty Sulṭān Quṭbu-d-Dīn sent him royal honours and a banner of Sultanship. He then brought many presents to the court of the Sulṭān, and received great favours and distinctions;......The Sulṭān... nominated and appointed him ruler of the whole country of Lakhnauti in Bengāla and sent him away. In the second year after this arrangement Muḥammad Bakhtyār brought an army from Behar towards Lakhnauti and arrived at the town of Nudiyā.[17]" The author of the *Tazkirāt-ul-Mulūk* also takes Bakht-yār to Quṭb ud-Dīn after his conquest of Bihār[18]. In all these history books we read of only one visit of Bakht-yār to Quṭb ud-Dīn. This visit, according to Tājul Ma'thir and others was at Badāyūn, where Quṭb ud-Dīn had gone after his conquest of Kālinjar and Mahobā. When all these evidences agree with one another, I do not see any reason to suppose a second visit of Bak̲h̲t-yār, much less can we make any categorical statement, as Dr. Qanungo has done.

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[14] *History of Bengal*, vol. II, ed. by J. N. Sarkar, p. 83.

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[15] *Tabaqāt i-Akbari*, Eng. Tr. by B. Dey, vol. I, p. 50.

[16] Briggs, *History of the Rise of the Mahomedan Power*, vol. I, pp. 197-98.

[17] *Muntakhabut-Tawārikh*, Eng. Tr. by Ranking, vol. I, pp. 81-82.

[18] Quoted by Raverty, *op. cit.*, Appendix, D., p. xxvi.

(v) Lastly, M. Chakravarti says, "It might also be argued that the year of Tājul Maāsir might be incorrect, for in the four Mss., examined by Major Raverty, the date was written ambiguously, and might be read 597 or 599 H; and between the immediately preceding date (13th Rabī 1, 693 (a mistake for 593 H.) and this one the gap is rather suspiciously long. On the present state of facts, therefore, the probability lies in favour of 596 H." This doubt in the reading of the date can be easily clarified by consulting other works. In Faris̲h̲tah, as quoted above, the date 599 H occurs. Even if we do not accept the authority of Faris̲h̲tah, which is a late work, the same date 599 H for the conquest of Kalinjar also occurs in Tārīk̲h̲-i-Fak̲h̲ruddīn Mubārak S̲h̲āh[19] (Nisbat Nāmah), a work which was composed in 1206 A.D. This latter authority removes the suspicion created in the mind of Chakravarti, for the author fills the gap thus: in 594/1197 Quṭb ud-Dīn conquered Badāyūn; in 595/1198 he subdued Qanauj and took the province of Sirubi; in 596/1199 he subjugated Mālwah and its neighbouring territories; in 597/1200 he conquered Gwālior; in 598/1201 he started to pay his homage to Sulṭān S̲h̲ihāb ud-Dīn; and finally in 599/1202-3 he undertook an expedition against Kālinjar. Thus, no doubt now remains in correctly fixing the date of the conquest of Kālinjar.

The next historian, who has discussed the date of Bak̲h̲t-yār's raid on Nadiyā, is R. D. Banerji,[20] who entirely agrees with Manmohan Chakravarti. In his book he refutes the contention of Major Raverty and reasserts Chakravarti's point that the date can be fixed on the evidence of the *La Saṁ* Era. The validity of this point has already been refuted earlier. R. D. Banerji also asserts that the date

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[19] Text edited by Sir E. Denison Ross (London, 1827), p. 24.

[20] *Bāṅglār Itihāsa*, vol. II, pp. 15-17.

1200 A.D. is supported by the *Panchākār* manuscript, preserved in the Cambridge University, which gives the year 28 of the destruction of Govindapāladeva's empire. As he points out, Govindapāladeva succeeded in 1161 A.D., hence, his 38th year falls in 1199 A.D., when Uddaṇḍabihār was destroyed. The year following this took place the raid on Nadiyā. Dr. K. R. Qanungo also reasserts this point on the same evidence: "The date of the sack of Bihar Sharif (1199)... is corroborated by Dr. R. G. Basak, who calculates from Gayākara Miśra's Mss. that Govindapāla lost Odantapuri *vihāra* in 1199, which was the 38th and terminal year of his reign."[21] The passage under discussion is quoted[23] below:—

परमेश्वरेत्यादि राजावली-पूर्ववत्-श्रीमद्गोविन्दपालदेवानां विनष्टराज्ये अष्टत्रिशत्-संवत्सरेऽभिलिख्यमाने ज्यैष्ठकृष्णाष्टम्यां तिथौ यत्र सं ३८ ज्यैष्ठदिने ८ लिखितमिदं पुस्तकं का श्रीगयाकरेणेति ।

It must at once be remarked that both R. D. Banerji and Dr. K. R. Qanungo are wrong when thay say on the evidence of this passage that Odantapuri was lost by Govindapāla in his 38th year. In fact his reign was over long before. In the words of Dr. R. G. Basak, "It is then that the year 1161 A.D., in all probability, began to be regarded as the year of cessation of Govindapāla's reign in Magadha too, and that since then the Buddhists of the localities commenced counting their time in terms of this fact during the next anarchical period in Magadha, out of a spirit of reverence to the Buddhist king Govindapāla. The evidence of the records under re examination shows that such calculation of time continued at least for 39 years, i.e., upto the year 1200 A.D., when the pressure of the Muhammadan raid was being felt by both Magadha and Bengal. Whether Govindapāla was still alive or not is a matter of contention and doubt.[23]" The first point of Dr. Basak needs revision, as Dr. D. C. Sircar has recently discovered an inscription in a village near the Luckeeserai Railway Station on the East Indian Railway, which is "dated both in the Śaka year 1083 and in the 18th year of Madanapāla's reign. The actual date is given as the eleventh day of the solar month of Jyaiṣṭha corresponding to the 4th May, 1161 A.D. The inscription thus shows beyond doubt that Madanapāla began to rule in Śaka 1066 = Vikrama Saṁvat 1201 = 1144-45 A.D. and that he ruled at least upto his eighteenth regnal year falling in Śaka 1083 = Vikrama 1218 = 1161-62 A.D. Since Govindapāla's first regnal year corresponds to the previous year, it appears almost certain that Govindapāla was the immediate successor, if not actually the son, of Madanapāla."[24] According to the calculation of Dr. Sircar, the first year of Govindapāla falls between 24th March, 1162 A.D. and 23rd March, 1163 A.D. By adding 39 years to it, we get the terminal date 23rd March, 1202 A.D., upto which time the *vinaṣṭa rājya* of Govindapāla was recorded in the Mss. If we accept the second point of Dr. R. G. Basak, the pressure of Muhammadan invasion must have taken place in the later half of the year 1202 A.D. or the early months of 1203 A.D. But, the force of Dr. Basak's argument weakens, if we bear in mind that the Buddhists of Gayā district began to date their records after this time according to the *atīta rājya* of Lakṣmaṇasena[25] (refer to the records of Aśokachalla and Jayasena), i.e. they transferred their allegiance from the defeated Buddhist king to the defeated Hindu king. Even then the contention of R. D. Banerji and Dr. Qanungo does not stand.

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[21] *History of Bengal*, vol. II, ed. by J. N. Sarkar, p. 32.

[22] As quoted by Dr. R. G. Basak in *Proceedings of the Indian History Congress*, Calcutta Session, 1939, p. 531.

[23] *Ibid*., p. 536.

Another scholar is N. K. Bhattasali, who tried to fix the date on the basis of the Parganati Era,[26] which, according to him, began on the 1st of Kārttika, 1124 Śaka = 28th September, 1202 A.D., Saturday. He observes, "Scholars, with the notable exception of one, are now generally agreed on the chronology of the Sena kings, and the fact that Lakṣmaṇasena was ousted from the west and north Bengal by Ikhtiyāruddīn Muḥammad bin Bakhtyār, about 1200 A.D., is not seriously disputed by many. The epithet Vallālī attached to the Parganati Era, shows that in popular tradition, it was connected with the dynasty that preceded the coming of the Muhammadans in Bengal, as everything pre-Muhammadan is Vallālī in Bengal,—so powerful a stamp did the great king Vallālsena leave upon the popular imagination. Was it in sorrowful remembrance of the termination of the glory of the great king Lahṣmaṇasena that this Era first began to be reckoned in Vikrampur and places around it, the last resort of the descendants of Lakshmaṇasena?" This assumption of Bhattasali is based on the records, the earliest one is dated in the Parganati year 461 = 1663 A.D. We have no proof to show that the Era was in use in its 1st, 2nd, or even in 3rd centuries. Later day use is a clear testimony to the fact that its origin was back-dated, but all the people were not sure of the actual date of its beginning. Hence, we notice variants in different records, as listed by Dr. Bhattasali himself. Mr. J. M. Roy fixes the beginning of the Vallali *san* in 1199 A.D.[27] Hence, the Parganati Era or the Vallāli Era, which had no original connection with the Senas, cannot help in correctly fixing the date of the raid on Nadiyā.

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[24] *Journal of the Asiatic Society, Bengal*, vol. XVII, 1951, No. 1, p. 29.

[25] *History of Bengal*, vol. I, ed. by R. C. Majumdar, p. 235.

[26] *Indian Antiquary*, 1923, pp. 314-20.

Later on, Bhattasali gave further support to his theory, relying on the evidence of the Madhainagar Copper-plate of Lakṣmaṇasena, which, according to him, is dated in the 25th regnal year = 1178 + 25 = 1203 A.D., and which records the performance of ऐन्द्रीमहाशान्ति । He holds that this ceremony was performed after Bakht-yār's raid on Nadiyā, and reconstructs the history thus: "The course of events can now be clearly traced. It was shown in my article on the Parganati Era that the years of the Era were Kārttika ones and it began in 1202 A.D. Thus presumably the invasion took place after the cessation of rains in the month of Kārttika 1202. Lakṣmaṇasena, then probably in the 80th year of his age, retired to Eastern Bengal with his court and shifted his capital to Dhāryyagrāma on the Lakshyā, on the road to further retirement to Kāmarūpa, if necessary. On the 27th of Śrāvaṇa next, the propitiatory rites were performed in 1203 A.D., the 25th regnal year. In Bhādra the copper-plate was issued. In defiance of the invaders, and also probably with a grim humour, as if to test the efficacy of the rites performed, the villages were granted almost on the border of the limit of Muslim occupation."[28] If the date is correctly read by Bhattasali, it is impossible to hold that the lands granted in this plate, which included "the village of Dāpaniya in the circle of Kāṇṭāpur, within the region of the lake Rāvaṇa, in Varendrī", identified with the village of Kāṇṭābāri, inside the *Chalam Bil* area on the western limit of the Tarash P.S., could have been given after Bakhtyār's raid on Nadiyā and his possession of Lakhnauti region.

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[27] *Ḍhākār Itihāsa*, vol. II, p. 396.

[28] *JASB.*, vol. VIII, 1942, No. 1, p. 20.

For, it was in this Karatoyā region that the fief of 'Alī Mardan, called Barasuli or Narakoti, lay.[29] Secondly, Bhattasali quotes the following verse from *Adbhutasāgara* to explain the meaning of the rite: —

भविष्यत्यभिषेके च परचक्रभयेषु च ।
स्वराष्ट्रभेदेऽरिवधे ऐन्द्रीशान्तिस्तथेष्यते ॥

and comments, "The performance of the Aindrī Mahāśānti·········is a clear indication of the fact that the kingdom of Lakṣmaṇasena had suffered lately from a disastrous invasion by an enemy, who had wrested a large portion of it. This can only refer to the invasion of Bengal in the year 1202 A.D. by Ikhtiyāruddīn Muḥammad." But, this comment is hardly justified by the facts that we possess. If there is any truth in the statement of Minhāj about the fear of invasion in the heart of the people,[30] this rite should have been performed before the invasion took place in order to ward off *para-cakra-bhaya*. And in view of the panic created by Bakht-yār, it should have been difficult to find, after the invasion, a Brahman to accept the *dakṣiṇā* in a place, which, if it was not in the territory of Bakht-yār, was without doubt in the frontier. Thirdly, the shifting of the *jaya skandhāvāra* to Dhāryyagrāma from Vikrampur is, no doubt, known to us from this plate at the earliest. But, there is no proof that this shifting was caused by Bakht-yār's invasion. The former place, Vikrampur, was not far off from Rājāvāḍi in Bhowal, identified by Bhattasali with Ḍhāryyagrām, and both these places were out of reach of Bakht-yār, who had his headquarters beyond the river Brahmaputra. Then, we cannot be sure of the date of shifting of the capital, as there is a difference of 19 years between the present plate and the Śaktipur Copper-Plate,[31] dated 6 regnal year = 1183-84 A.D., the last known plate issued from Vikrampur.

The latest scholar, who has discussed the date, is Dr. K. R. Qanungo[32], who adheres to 1200 A.D. His two new arguments are given below: —

Dr. Qanungo says that in 1203 A.D., when Bakht-yār met Quṭb, he presented 20 elephants according to Tājul Ma'thir. "Such

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[29] *History of Bengal*, vol. II, pp. 35-36.

[30] Raverty, *op. cit.*, pp. 556-57.

[31] *Epigraphia Indica*, vol. XXI, p. 215.

[32] *History of Bengal*, vol. II, ed. by J. N. Sarkar, pp. 32-33.

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elephants could have come only from Bengal, and it was a well-known practice of successful viceroys of that province under the Mughal empire to send such elephants to the Emperor." Here it must be remarked that Bakht-yār presented the elephants, not after capturing them in the jungles of Bengal. He must have obtained them in some Rājā's palace. Though Bakht-yār is definitely known to have got some elephants at Nadiyā[33], he could have as well seized some in Bihār, as it was a common practice among the Hindu nobility in those days to keep elephants.

Secondly, Dr. Qanungo says, "The second fixed point is found in a Tibetan work which tells us that Śākya Srībhadra, a Buddhist scholar of Kashmir visited South Bihar in 1200 A.D. and saw the *vihāras* of Odantapurī and Vikramśilā already ruined and others in course of destruction at the hands of the Turks, while their monks had fled from Bihar to the Jagaddal monastery in Bengal". For his authority Dr. Qanungo quotes the article "Antiquity of Chittagong" by S. C. Das[34]. But, in the original article S. C. Das does not say that in 1200 A.D. the *vihāras* were "already ruined". On the other hand, in his edition of *Pag Sam Jon Zang*, he writes, "Jagadhala, name of a place in Orissa where Śākya Śrī Bhadra of Kaśmīr had taken refuge, after his flight from Odantapuri *vihāra* when that place was sacked by Bakhtyar Khilji in 1202 A.D.[35]" In other places[36] also he gives the same date with regard to the Muslim conquest. This date has been given by S. C. Das on the basis of his knowledge of the Muslim history, because in the original work we could not discover any date given by the author.

Thus, there is no clear evidence from the Hindu sources to fix the date of Bakht-yār's raid on Nadiyā. At best these materials can be utilised as corroborative facts.

The evidence from the Muslim sources is quite definite. From all the history books, quoted above, we learn that Bakht-yār visited

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[33] Raverty, *op. cit.*, p. 574.

[34] *JASB.*, 1898, p. 25 (Unfortunately the year of the Journal and page number is not published by Dr. Qanungo.).

[35] *Tibetan text*, Index, p. XCVI.

[36] *Ibid.*, p. CXXI; p. X etc.

Quṭb ud-Dīn only once after his conquest of Bihār. The contemporary book, Tājul Ma'thir also says:

Chūn khāṭir as tartīb muhamāt-i-vilāyat fārigh āmad, rū-i-rāyat bar simt badaūn gardānīdah āmad, wa muta'qab-i-waṣūl-i-rakāb humāyūn Ikht-yār ud-Dīn Muḥammad Bakht-yār az jānib-i-Udand-Bihār ba-khidmat pīvast[37].

"When (Quṭb ud-Dīn's) mind was at leisure from the arrangement of affairs of the country, the standard was turned towards Badāyūn. Soon after the arrival of the auspicious stirrup there, Ikht-yār ud-Dīn Muḥammad Bakht-yār came from the direction of Udanda-bihar to (his) presence."

Here the name of the place, wherefrom Bakht-yār came, is clearly Udand-bihar, and not Nadiyā or Lakhnauti. Therefore, the visit that is described in this book, is the same which occurs in other histories. We know that Udand-bihar was never made by Bakht-yār a permanent seat of residence. His original place was in Bhagavat and Bhuili in Mirzapur district, and later it was fixed at Lakhnauti. But, when all these history books mention that Bakht-yār started to meet Quṭb from Bihār, it can only mean that he was there for its conquest and after capturing it, he started to pay his respects, as we are told explicitly in the Ṭabaqāt-i-Nāṣirī. The meeting took place at Badāyūn, and not at Delhi as was maintained by Raverty[38]. It was here that Quṭb came after his conquest of Kālinjar, the date of the conquest is read by Dr. Shadani as *roz-i-doshanbah hashtam-i-māh-i-rajab* in the year 599 H. Thus, the date 20th rajab, as read by Elliot, no longer stands, as has already been pointed out by Hodivala[39]. The date is equal to 24th March, 1203 A.D. Nadiyā was conquered in the (duam sāl-i-ān) next year, i.e. in the early months of 1204 A.D. This date is happily corroborated by the stoppage of the use of the name of Govindapāla after 1202-3, and also the performance of *aindrī mahāśānti* rite by Lakṣmaṇasena in 1203, which must have taken place before the conquest. Thus, all the sources agree that the correct date of the conquest of Nadiyā is 1204 A.D.

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[37] Text as collated and condensed by Dr. Shadani in England for his thesis unpublished.

[38] Raverty, *op. cit.*, p. 552.

[39] *Studies in Indo-Muslim History*. p. 183.

1. I have now consulted the five manuscripts of the Tajul Mat͟hir preserved in the British Museum and two in the India Office Library, and am giving below the complete text of the passage quoted above. In the British Museum the manuscripts are numbered (a) Oriental 163, copied on 1024 H., and containing the passage on folio 156, (b) Additional 24,951, copied on 818 H. and the passage on folios 119-120 a, (c) Additional 7623, copied on 711 H., and the passage on folios 54-55 a, (d) Oriental 8376, copied on 921 H., or near about as the manuscript has other dates as well, and the passage on folios 228-29 a, and (e) Additional 7624. In the India Office Library they are numbered (f) Ethéno. 15 = I.O. no. 210, undated, and the passage on folios 186-186 a, (g) Ethéno. 209 = I.O. no. 1486, undated, and the passage on folios 176-177 a.

I will refer to the manuscripts as a, b, c, d, etc. The manuscript (e) is incomplete and does not contain the above passage. The text is quoted below:

چون خاطر خطیر از ترتیب مهمات و نظم امور ولایت فارغ آمد و احوال ممالک بصلاح مقرون و آمال و امانی بنجاح موصول شد و[1] روی رایت خورشید پیکر بر سمت بداون[2] که از امهات[3] بلاد و معظمات دیار هندست[4] کردانیده آمد و متعاقب وصول رکاب[5] فرقدسای و عنان جهانگشای ملک[6] الامرا اختیار الدین محمد بختیار که ازان[7] انصار دولت و اعضاد مملکت بمزید باس و بخدمت ممتاز بود[8] و از حمات بیضهٔ اسلام و حفظهٔ ثغور دین[9] بکمال شجاعت و بسالت مستثنی و ذکر مساعی و مکارم او[10] در اطراف هند و سند[11] منتشر گشت[12] و صیت غزوات مشهور او در اقاصی بر و بحر[13] ـ سائر.

1 (a) omits it.

2 In (b) the reading is doubtful. It is written بلاون—which may be read Balaun or Badaun.

3 (a), (b), (c) and (d) omit this word.

4 (g) omits the word.

5 (b) omits the word.

6 This title occurs only in (f).

7 (b), (c) & (d) have only آن and (f) and (g) only از.

8 (b) omits the word.

9 (g) omits the word.

10 In (g) the order is reversed as ذکر مکارم و مساعی او

11 (g) omits the word.

12 (b), (f) and (g) omit the word.

13 (g) has reversed as بحر و بر

تسير بها الركبان شرقاً و مغرباً . و تسرى لها العافون مثنى و موحدا
وزان چون باد وصيت تو ازين عالم[14] بدان عالم
روان چون آب ذكر تو[15] ازين كشور بدان كشور[16]
از جانب اندن[17] بهار بخدمت پيوست .

2. Recently Dr. R. C. Majumdar has commented on the Luckeeserai inscription of Madanapāla. (*J.A.S.B.*, XVIII, no. 2, 1951, p. 117-20). He contends that the first regnal year of Madanapāla should be 1143-44 A. D., and not 1144-45, and that 1162-63 cannot be regarded as the first year of the reign of Govindapāla, but rather it is the year when he lost his kingdom. Even if we accept this interpretation, it does not affect the argument that we have given in the main article.

AHMAD HASAN DANI

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14 (f) and (g) have با وصيت
15 (f) and (g) have ذكر او ازين
16 (b) omits the verses.
17 (b) reads اند هار

Concordance of the Fauna in the Rāmāyaṇa*

231. HANUMAT = A particular sort of monkey. Simia Sinica.

Adi—i (78a), iii (62a, 70b, 75b, 81a, 84a, 85a, 88b, 21b, 114b, 127a), iv (22a), xx (20b).

Kis—i (5a, 18b, 23ab, 32a), ii (1a, 2a, 21b, 24a), iii (1a, 4a, 18b, 20a, 25b, 26a, 28a), iv (1a, 16a), v (1b), vii (14a), viii (33a), ix (99b), xiii (4a, 28b), xxiii (1b. 8b, 11a), xxiv (13b, 16a), xxv (3b, 8ab, 9b, 11a, 33b), xxviii (8b), xxxi (30b, 37a), xxxii (1a, 9a), xxxiii (13a, 23a), xxxvii (1b), xxxviii (17a, 21a), xxxix (22b), xli (2a, 80b), xlii (1a, 6a, 7a, 8a, 9ab, 15a), xliii (1a), xlviii (17a, 18a), xlix (1a), li (1a, 4a, 6a, 14a, 20b, 37a), lii (1a, 10ab, 28a), liii (1b, 9a), lv (1b, 2b, 5b), lvi (1a), lvii (6b), lxiv (4b).

Sun—i (14b, 38b, 58a, 97b), ii (1b, 2b, 4c, 5b. 9a, 33a, 42b, 48ab), iii (1a, 3b, 46b, 52b), v (21b, 22b), vi (3b, 7b, 14a, 22c, 27a), vii (1a, 2a, 9b, 13b, 21a, 36a, 39b, 65a, 69a), ix (1a, 33a, 44a, 59a), xii (2a, 5a, 15b, 48b), xiv (6b), xvi (7b, 14b, 16b), xvii (3b, 13a, 18a, 32b, 46a, 53a), xviii (2b, 37b, 39b, 55a, 73a), xx (22b), xxv (13a), xxix (1a, 36b), xxxi (1a, 27a, 62a), xxxii (4a, 42a, 49b), xxxiii (1a, 6a, 16b, 42b), xxxv (1b, 30a, 32a), xxxvi (10a, 25b, 71a. 76b), xxxvii (1a, 13b, 15a, 23b, 24a, 26a, 40a), xxxviii (22b, 25a, 27b, 31b, 35a, 38b, 45b), xxxix (1a, 9a, 10a), xl (5b, 6a, 11a, 20b), xli (6b, 11b), xlii (3b, 11b, 36b), xliii (1a), xliv (1a), xlv (7b, 9a, 15a), xlvi (1b, 13a, 15a, 19a), xlvii (10b, 14a), xlix (1a), l (10a, 12a, 16a, 20b, 21b, 22b), li (7a, 12b, 17b, 22b, 25b), lii (1b, 22b, 23a, 25a, 20b), liii (2a, 7a), liv (16b, 29a), lvi (5a, 7a, 9b, 14a. 20b, 23a,

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* Continued from p. 386 of vol. XXIX, No. 4.

28a, 29b, 32a, 35b, 37a), lvii (1b, 26b, 101a, 108b), lviii (1a), lix (1b), lx (8b, 9a, 16b, 17a, 18a, 19a), lxi (1ab, 2a), lxii (5b, 13b), lxiv (6a, 18b, 27b, 28a), lxvi (6a, 9a, 10b, 12a, 13b, 16a, 17b, 18b), lxvii (6b, 7a, 19b), lxviii (1a, 9b, 11a, 14a, 15b), lxix (1a, 39a), lxx (1a, 2b, 3b, 5b, 6a, 9a, 12b, 14b), lxxi (19b), lxxiii (1b, 4a, 5a), lxxiv (1b, 13a, 27b), lxxvii)1a, 3a), lxxix (1b, 3a, 5b), lxxxi (3a, 7a, 17b), lxxxii (6b, 11b), xci (47b), xcii (2b, 22a, 40b), xciv (5a), xcvii (3a).

Yud—iv (12b), vii (27c), xiv (11b), xvi (18a, 34a), xviii (9b, 19a, 31b), xx (3a), xxvi (7b), xxvii (29b), xxviii (31a, 33a, 34b, 35b), xxx (8b, 10a, 11a, 13a, 19b, 22b, 24b, 26b, 27b, 35b, 36b), xxxiv (11a), xxxvi (28a, 29b, 33a, 41a, 45b, 46a, 49a, 94a, 101a, 103a), xxxviii (39a), xlvi (14a, 16b, 19b, 58a, 66a), l (19b, 23a, 29b, 33a, 34b, 36a, 38a, 41b, 43b, 45a), lii (38a), liii (5b, 13b, 15b, 20b, 25b, 28b, 29a, 30a, 33b, 38a, 39a, 59a), liv (1b, 31a), lvii (8b, 12a, 15b, 16b, 19a, 20a), lxi (6a, 8b, 13a, 18a, 20b, 26a), lxii (2a, 7a, 9b, 20b, 26a), lxiii (2a, 4b, 5b, 6a, 12a), lxiv (7b, 9a), lxv (8b, 20b, 28a), lxvi (17a, 32a, 33b), lxix (13b), lxxi (56a), lxxii (2a, 3a), lxxiii (52b), lxxvi (61a), lxxxii (13a), lxxxiii (40b, 45a, 62b, 65a, 66a, 69a, 73a, 75b, 79a, 83a, 89b, 95b, 97a, 99b, 119b, 120b, 125a, 127a, 129a, 138a, 139a, 141a, 149a, 151a, 152a, 154a, 160a, 163a, 164a, 166a, 170b, 173a), lxxxiv (1a, 3a, 8b, 15b, 23a, 29b, 30b, 34a, 36a, 37a, 43b), lxxxv (7b, 9a, 13a, 20b, 26a, 27b, 33a, 34b), lxxxvi (1a, 3a, 4a), lxxxvii (11a), xcvi (12b), xcviii (3b, 21b), xcix (1a, 13a, 27b, 36a, 39a, 41b), c (4a), ci (7b), cii (13a), cix (18b, 19b, 23b), cx (20b, 39a, 41b, 45a, 46a, 54a, 60a, 61b), cxi (3a), cxii (18a), cxiii (39a, 87a, 90a, 95ab).

Utt—xxxviii (53b, 54b, 57b, 59b, 61a, 63a, 64a, 65b, 66a, 76a), xxxix (11b), xl (21b), xlii (41a, 44b), xliii (16a, 19b), xcviii (10a), cii (3a, 7a), cxiiii (43a).

232. HARI = Monkey.

AK. 312 हरति हरिः ।

Adi—i (74b), iii (86b, 92b), iv (31b), xx (17a, 20ab), lx (12a).

Ayo—cv (23a), cvi (3b).

Ara—xv (4a), xx (26a), lxxvii (73a).

Kis—xxxi (4b, 19a, 21a, 23c), xxxii (9a, 10a, 15a), xxxiii (2a, 20a, 33a), xxxiv (24b), xxxv (2b, 25a, 27ab, 28b, 32b), xxxvi (2a, 15b), xxxvii (4b, 5b, 11b, 16b, 32b, 34a), xxxviii (2ab, 4a, 7a, 8b, 9a, 11a, 21a, 25a, 27a, 32b, 35b, 51a, 55b, 58a), xxxix (11a, 13a, 18b, 25a, 31a, 37a, 40a), xl (49a), xli (1a, 5a, 6b, 7a, 8b, 63b), xlii (1b, 2b, 13a), xliii (1a, 6b, 16a). xliv (10a, 83a, 129a), xlv (1a, 17b, 18a), xlvi (18b), xlvii (1a), xlviii (7b), xlix (2a, 8a, 11a), l (1a, 21b, 22b, 28a), li (19b, 29a), lii (23b, 24b), liii (24a), liv (22b, 26a), lv (9a, 16b), lvii (1b, 3b, 8b, 24a, 28a), lviii (1a, 6b), lix (12b), lx (1a, 2a), lxii (29a), lxiii (24b), lxiv (4b, 6b).

Sun—i (7b, 10a, 12a, 25a, 26b, 27b, 30b, 33ab, 34b, 39b, 43a, 51ab, 65ab, 71a, 74b, 75a, 77a, 78a, 79a, 94a), ii (1a, 9a, 13a, 15a, 47b, 50b), iii (6a, 44b, 75b), v (3a), vi (26a), vii (30b, 56a), ix (23a, 25a, 63a), xi (20b), xii (10b), xiv (5b), xv (38b), xvi (40a, 51b), xix (1a, 33b), xxx (14a), xxxi (27a), xxxii (40b), xxxiii (6a), xxxv (15a, 20b, 41a, 48a), xxxvii (4a, 7a, 26b), xxxviii (34a, 37a), xxxix (1a), xlii (10b, 11a, 34b), xliii (6a, 10b), xlv (3a, 10a), xlvii (10a), xlviii (1a, 2b, 10b, 11b, 12a, 13b), l (10b), li (12a, 16b, 24b), lii (8a), liii (3a, 4a, 18b, 20b), liv (5b, 8ab, 19b, 24b), lv (10b), lvi 6ab, 8b, 21b, 32b, 35a), lvii (1b, 2b, 8b), lix (19b), lx (20b), lxi (1ab, 5b, 6b, 12b, 13a, 19a), lxii (11b, 12b), lxiii (7b, 10b, 12a), lxiv (1a, 17b, 20b, 22b), lxv (1a, 4a, 9b, 10b, 11a, 13a, 16a, 21b, 22ab, 24b), lxvi (8b, 14a), lxvii (1a, 6a), lxix (36b, 41b), lxx (4a, 6b, 17b, 22b), lxxi (15b, 17b), lxxii (11b), lxxiv (33b, 34a, 38b, 40b, 41ab, 46a, 66a), lxxv (20a, 23a, 24a, 27b), lxxxi (8b, 13b), lxxxii (27a), xci (49a), xcii (2b, 5a, 14a, 23a), xciii (1a, 15a, 16b, 17a), xciv (11a), xcvii (7a, 44a).

Kis—i (5a, 9b, 19a, 28b), v (31b), vi (21b, 24a), vii (12a), ix (65b), xii (27b), xiii (4b, 30a), xiv (5a), xv (6a), xvi (5b, 54b), xvii (2b, 33b, 45b), xviii (5a, 30a), xix (9b), xxii (10a, 19b, 37a, 38b), xxiii (2a, 4b, 5b, 10a, 11b, 12a), xxiv (11a, 25a), xxv (19a), xxviii (8b, 19b, 20a, 21a, 22a, 27b, 33ab), xxx (13a, 24b).

Yud—i (13b, 17a, 29a), ii (3a, 21b, 39a, 43a, 46b), iii (4b, 18a, 27a, 30a, 38a, 42b), iv (5b, 13a, 18a), v (1a), vi (7b, 8b, 9c, 19b), xiii (2a, 22a,) xv (1a, 12b, 16a), xvi (13b, 32a, 42b, 54b, 56b, 75a, 82a, 96b), xvii (3b, 5b, 18a, 22c), xviii (14b, 16b, 17b, 23a, 24b, 29a, 45a, 58a), xix (3a, 8b, 18a, 69a, 73b), xx (6a), xxi (38b, 39b), xxii (2b, 23b); xxiv (5c, 36b), xxv (25a, 29a), xxviii (8a, 24a), xxix (16b, 18b, 22a, 25b, 26b, 28a, 29b), xxx (4b, 6b, 37a), xxxa (3 a), xxxb (31b), xxxi (9a, 44a), xxxii (93a, 94a), xxxvi (10b, 11a, 13b, 47b, 48a, 53a, 120b), xxxvii (93a, 94a), xxxviii (38a, 40a), xlii (6b), xlvi (16a, 34b, 44a, 56a, 57b, 67b, 68a, 70b, 71a, 76b, 80b, 83b, 118b), xlix (28a, 32a, 35b, 39b, 45a, 51c, 53b, 54b, 61a, 63a, 65a, 67a, 68b, 71a), l (18b, 35b, 50b, 51b). li (4b, 11a, 35a, 39a, 41a, 42a), lii (40a, 41a), liii (1a, 11a, 12a, 23b, 30b, 38b, 39a, 41a, 67a), liv (6a, 27a), lvi (52b, 56a), lx (5b, 17a), lxi (6a, 18a, 20ab), lxii (2a, 5a), lxx(42a), lxxi (14b, 55a), lxxvi (17a, 50a), lxxvii (1b, 7a, 20b, 28a, 30b, 38a, 46ab), lxxviii (17a, 30a), lxxx (5b, 75b), lxxxii (3a, 11a, 12b), lxxxiii (39b, 62a, 139b, 152a, 156b), lxxxiv (27b, 44a, 54a), lxxxvi (1b, 4b), xcii (2a), xcviii (7b, 8a, 10a, 24a), xcix (5a, 12a), c (45a, 53a), cii (31a), cvi (14a), cviii (5b, 17a), cx (11b, 25b), cxiii (95b).

Utt—xxiii (20a, 29a, 33a, 36b, 41a, 42b, 44a), xxx (28b), xlii (43b), xcviii (14a), cxiii (45a).

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233. HAṂSA = Goose, gander, swan.

AK. 88/129—हन्ति गच्छति हंसः

Adi—xxxvii (8a), xlv (19b).

Ayo—xxvii (18a), xliii (22b), xlvi (11b), xlvii (3b), lii (33a), civ (3a), cxi (49a).

Ara—vii (3a), xv (6b, 42b), xx (20a), xxi (12a), lvi (45a), lxxvii (61a), lxxviii (7a), lxxx (27a), lxxxi (27b, 42b).

Kis—xiii (8a), xxix (16b), xliv (30b), li (11a), lii (38a), lix (31b).

Sun—ix (9a, 57a), xi (2b, 6a), xii (25a), xiii (7b), xiv (16a, 24b, 37b, 39a), xvii (26a), xviii (20b).

Yud—xxxb (13a), xlix (22b), lxv (25b), lxxxiii (71a), cx (59a), cxii (42b), cxiii (8a).

Utt—xviii (5b, 25a, 28a), xx (20a, 21b), xxx (10), xlv (14b), lxxxiv (4b, 10b).

234. HAṂSĪ = Female Goose.

Utt—xxxiv (13b).

235. HAYA = Horse

AK. 184—हयति याति हयः।

Adi—vi (24ab), xi (12a), xiii (30b, 32a, 37a), xlii (23c, 24a), xliii (8b), xlv, (13b), liv (21a), lxix (25b), lxxx (16b, 21b).

Ayo—xvi (13a, 16a, 22b), xxxix (47b), xli (15a), xlvi (5b, 11a), xlvii (6b, 8a), lvii (2a), lxx (3a, 6a), lxxxix (7a, /13d), xc (1a, 2b), xcvi (22a), xci (4a), c (55a), cii (13b), cvi (19a, 29a), cvii (13b), cxxiv (20a), cxxv (14a, 22a).

Ara—ii (3b), ix (10b), xxxii (15a), xxxiv (30b).

Kis—xliv (74b).

Sun—xx (6b), xli (7a), ix (20a).

Yud—vii (33a), ix (26b), xiii (15a), xviii (2a), xix (9a), xxvii (27a), xxxa (4a, 18a, 19a, 24b, 28b), xxxb (19b), xxxi (28b, 39c), xxxii (30b), xxxiii (3a),

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233 *Ṛv.*, i, 65, 5; *Av.*, vi, 12, 1; *Kāth. Saṃ.*, xxxviii, 1; *Mait. Saṃ.*, iii, 11, 6; *Vāja. Saṃ.*, xix, 74; *Tait. Brā.*, ii, 6, 2. 1; *Tait. Saṃ.*, v, 5, 21, 1.

235 *Ṛv.*, v, 46, 1; *Vāja. Saṃ.*, vii, 47.

xxxv (12a), xxxvii (39a), xlix (7a, 1-a, 48b, 52a, 54a, 66b), l (33a), lii (8b), lviii (24a), lxiii (44b), lxiv (22b), lxx (38b, 44a, 46a), lxxi (4a), lxxxvii (3a), lxxxviii (26a), xcii (26a), xciii (9a).

Utt—vi (44a), xxvi (7a, 8a), xxvii (35a), xxxiv (37a), xlix (19a), liii (16a), lxiii (21a), lxxvii (2b), xcii (20a), xciii (6b, 8c), xciv (2b), xcvii (18a, 21a), xcviii (3a, 16b), xcix (1b, 2a, 9a).

236. HARIṆĪ.=Faminine of *Hariṇa*, which denotes 'gazelle'.

AK. 126— ह्रियते गीतेन हरिणः । स्त्रियामणी ।

Sun—xvii (49b), xxv (43a).

237. HASTIN=Elephant.

'Having a hand', with *Mṛga*, 'beast', denotes in the *R.V.* and the *A.V.* the 'elephant'. Later the adjective alone comes to mean 'elephant'.—(Keith : *Vedic Index*: II, 501).

Adi—v (13b), lxxx (3b).

Ayo—ii (31a), xxxv (40b), lxxix (11a), c (59a), cviii (29a), cix (49b).

Ara—ii (3b), iv (34a), xl (22b, 26a), liv (63c), lv (16a).

Kis—ix (107a), xlix (13a).

Sun—iii (15b), xi (7b), xviii (30b), xxi (14b), lxxxiii (33b), xc (6a).

Yud—iii (23a, 28ab, 41b), xlvi (115b), xlix (28b), lxxiv (3a), cx (33a).

Utt—xxxi (5a), xlii (35a).

Sibadas Chaudhuri

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236 *Tait. Saṃ.*, vii. 4, 19, 2; *Vāja. Saṃ.*, xxiii, 30; *Mait. Saṃ*, iii, 13, 1; *Kāth. Saṃ.*, iv, 8; *Tait. Brā.*, iii, 9, 7, 2; *Av.*, vi, 67, 3.

237 *Ṛv.*, i, 64, 7; iv, 16, 14; *Av.*, xii, 1, 25; *Tait. Saṃ.*, v, 5, 11, 1; *Mait. Saṃ.*, iii, 14, 8; *Vāja. Bam.*, xxiv, 29; *Pañc. Brā.*, vi, 8, 8; *Aita. Brā.*, iv, 1, 14; *Sata. Brā.*, iii, 1, 3, 4; *Chānd. Upa.*, vii, 24, 2; *Jaiṃ. Upa., Brā*, iii, 22. 1.

Rāmayaṇa Scenes in Rājasthāna Sculptures

The popularity of Kṛṣṇa cult in ancient Rājasthāna has well been attested by the discovery of numerous sculptures and art objects at various places such as Raṅgamahal (Bikaner State), Kāmān (ancient Kāmavana, Bharatpur State), Maṇḍora (ancient Māṇḍavyapura, 5 miles to the North of Jodhpur), Osiān[1] (39 miles from Jodhpur), Kirāḍu[2] (123 miles from Jodhpur), Kekīnda[3] (87 miles from (Jodhpur). This archaeological wealth belongs to an age ranging from the early Gupta[4] period to about 12th century A.D.

I. *Gaṅgāvataraṇa*

As regards the Rāma story, its depiction in ancient Indian art began at a very late period and Rājasthāna was no exception to it. But it is regrettable to note that no inscription or stone sculpture even of the Gupta period ever refers to the Rāmāyaṇa scenes in the deserts of Rājapūtānā. It was in years 1936-7 that Mr. Daya Ram Sahni excavated a neck and a handle of an interesting vase at Sāmbhara (Jaipur State) from the levels assigned by him to the Gupta period. Mr. Sahni[5] tentatively identified the neck with the three eyed head of Śiva and the handle (which has the form of a nude female figure standing with joined hands) with the sacred river Gaṅgā. In the words of Sahni (*ibid*), "If this assumption is correct, the two parts combined would illustrate the well known legend of the Rāmāyaṇa relating to the descent of celestial river from the matted hair of Śiva which she has condescended to do in response to the prayer of Bhagīratha, the great-grandson of Sagara. I am unable to explain the meaning of the two human heads upon which the goddess stands. Might we recognise in them two of the 60,000 deceased sons of Sagara, who had been reduced to ashes by the wrath of the sage Kapila. I have been emboldened to suggest the above interpretation in view of the representations of this story in such modern sculptures as one of Vikrama Saṃvat 1751 from the *Chatrī* of the Kangarāwat Rājā Bhojarāja Jī at Naraina, distant four miles from the scene of my excavations"—very near to Naliāsar (Sāmbhar).

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[1] Dr. Bhandarkar perhaps forgot to refer to *Kṛṣṇalilā* scenes carved in the ancient temples here. I discussed this problem in detail in my Hindi paper published in the *Prajā Sevaka*, Jodhpur, September 2, 1953.

[2] I had the proud privilege of noticing some prominent scenes (from the life of *Kṛṣṇa*) on the outside portion of the Śiva temples at Kirāḍu. For details see, *Ibid*, September 30, 1953. These scenes had escaped even the notice of Dr. Bhandarkar in the *PRASW.C*, 1907, pp. 40 ff.

[3] These scenes have been discussed by me in detail for the first time in the *Lokavāṇi*, Jaipur, November 29, 1953.

[4] As is evident from the *Govardhana-dhāraṇa* etc., scenes in the Raṅgmahal antiquities. Epigraphic evidence pushes this limit back to the early centuries before the birth of Christ (Cf. *Journal of the Indian Society of Oriental Art*, Calcutta, XIV p. 23).

[5] *Archaeological Remains and Excavations at Sāmbhar*, Jaipur, p. 25, Plate XVI a. This vase is at present exhibited in the Archaeological Museum at Āmber, near Jaipur.

II. *Absence of Pratihāra Sculptures*

The epigraphic evidence beginning from the 9th century A.D. seeks to associate the well known Gurjara Pratihāras with the younger brother of Rāmacandra—the hero of Vālmīki's Rāmāyaṇa[6]. The seat of these rulers was at Maṇḍora, only 5 miles from Jodhpur. It seems quite amazing to note that the very land of the descendants of Rāma's younger brother does not record the discovery of even a single sculpture (of Rāma or Lakṣmaṇa) datable to the contemporary times.

Maṇḍora (the very capital of the Gurjara Pratihāras) yielded two famous pillars (depicting *Kṛṣṇalīlā* scenes) belonging to the Gupta period. Also numerous Viṣṇu images have been recovered from that place but not a single sculpture of Rāma or his younger brother has yet come to light. It is really not possible to account as to why these rulers did not like to install the images of the heroes after whom they designated themselves as *Pratihāras*. Was it all a vain boast? Equally interesting is to note the utter absence of the depiction of Rāmāvatāra of Viṣṇu in the temples at Osian. On the other hand the *Vaiṣṇava* temples of Osian present before us even the *Buddhāvatāra* and *Saṃkarṣaṇa-Vāsudeva* incarnations[7] of Viṣṇu, specially the latter ones. Further discoveries are eagerly awaited to solve the above mystery.

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[6] The Jodhpur Inscription (dated V.S. 894=837 A.D.) also states that the dynasty was called after Lakṣmaṇa who happened to work as a door-keeper (*pratihāra*) of his elder brother:—*sva bhrātrā Rāma bhadrasya pratihāryam kṛtam yataḥ śrī-pratihāra-vaṃśoyam* (*E.I.*, XVIII, Art. 12; R. S. Tripathi, *History of Kanauj*, Banaras, pp. 222 ff.,); cf. similar views in a mediaeval Jaina inscription from Osian (P. C. Nāhaḍa, *Jaina Inscriptions*, I, Calcutta, p. 193).

III. *Rāvaṇa lifting the Kailāśa*

It will be rather too much to conclude (from the above account) that there was no place for Rāmāyaṇa-scenes and Rāma cult in the Rājasthāna sculptures. The Albert Museum at Jaipur has got a very fine stone sculpture wherein Śiva and Pārvatī are sitting together on the Kailāśa mountain and down below Rāvaṇa (the ruler of Laṅkā) is trying his best to lift the mountain. The discovery of this type[8] of sculptures has been recorded at various places of India and Greater India.

IV. *Rāmāyaṇa scenes at Kekīnda*

During my inspection tour of archaeological monuments in the Jodhpur Circle, I happened to notice (for the first time) numerous Rāmāyaṇa scenes carved in the ancient temples at Kekīnda[9] and Kirāḍu[10]. The domical *sabhāmaṇḍapa* of the Nīlakaṇṭha Mahādeva temple[11] at Kekīnda, presents the following famous scenes from the Rāmāyaṇa :—

(i) Monkey faced Hanumāna (lifting the mountain on both of his hands) is depicted at various places.

(ii) Many monkeys are standing together.

(iii) A monkey, perhaps Hanumāna, stands with his hands folded.

(iv) Rāmacandra standing near his bird-friend Jaṭāyū.

(v) Two-handed Rāma, with bow in one and arrow in the other hand.

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[7] For details of these incarnations at Osian see *ASIAR*, 1908-9, pp. 101 ff.

[8] i.e. Rāvaṇa lifting the "*Kailāśa-parvata*".

[9] Ancient Kiṣkindhā, modern Jasnagar.

[10] Ancient Kirāṭakūpa.

[11] Assigned to about 10-11th century by Dr. D. R. Bhandarkar (*PRASWC*., 1911, pp. 35 ff.). Cf. my article in the *Lokavānī*, Jaipur, November 29, 1953. The art of carving at Kekind is in no way inferior to that at Kirāḍu. Temples of both these places are really valuable relics of ancient Indian art.

(vi) Two monkeys, fighting with each other, appear to refer to the combat between Sugrīva and Bālī. Nearby Rāma is stretching his bow and arrow. It seems as if he is making Bālī as his target.

(vii) The golden deer (*svarna mṛga*) is also depicted at one place.

(viii) A monkey, who has brought the mountain, is in a mood to hand over the same to somebody seated below (perhaps the *vaidya rāja* who had asked Hanumāna to bring the herb in order to bring Lakṣmaṇa to senses).

V. *Kirāḍu temples*

On the outer portion of the main shrine of the Someśvara temple are carved various scenes depicting the life-stories[12] of Kṛṣṇa and Rāmacandra, the latter being: —

(i) Sugrīva and Bālī fighting with each other.

(ii) The monkeys busy in constructing the bridge over the sea. Here the monkeys are lifting stones in both of their hands and in one corner is also shown the process of depositing them in the sea. This scene is beautifully carved in another Śiva temple nearby and recalls to our minds the famous somewhat-similar (but Gupta) sculpture from Pāhārpura[13] (Bengal).

(iii) Sītā, during her detention in Rāvaṇa's palace, is sitting in a dejected mood under an Aśoka tree. Nearby is seated a lady attendant too. A monkey, on the tree above, perhaps refers to the existence of Hanumāna who had been deputed to find out the whereabouts of Sītā.

Just very near to the above temple is another Śiva shrine where too Rāmāyaṇa scenes add much to our knowledge. Prominent of these are: —

(i) A figure over a monkey.

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[12] This subject has not been touched by anybody so far. Even Dr. Bhandarkar did not refer to such scenes in his report published in the *PRASWC.*, 1907, pp. 40-2.

[13] *Memoirs of the Archaeological Survey of India*, no. 55, p. 51; *ASIAR.*, 1926-27, p. 147, plate XXXIX a.

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(ii) Monkeys lifting the stones—as already referred to above.

(iii) Hit by the Śakti of Meghanāda, Lakṣmaṇa is lying senseless on the ground. The head of the latter is placed on the thigh of the elder brother (Rāma) whose face indicates signs of utter grief and sorrow. In front of Rāma appear certain seated monkeys in a dejected mood.

(iv) Hanumāna, in his attempt to bring the herb, carrying the whole mountain.

The above description of Kirāḍu and Kekīnda scenes is thus very important from iconographic point of view.[14]

VI. *Rāma as Incarnation of Viṣṇu*

In a 13th century black stone door-jamb from Kirāḍu (now kept in the Sardāra Museum at Jodhpur), two handed Rāma (holding bow in one and the arrow in the other) figures among the other incarnations of Viṣṇu. The same idea is well attested in various sculptures (from Rājasthāna) depicting the 10 incarnations of Viṣṇu. In fact Kālīdāsa has identified Hari (Viṣṇu) with Rāma—the hero of Rāmāyaṇa (i.e. *Ramābhidhāno hariḥ*).[15]

Hanumāna, the famous devotee of Rāma, is still worshipped in almost all the modern villages of Rājasthāna. A huge image[16] of this hero was installed at Asāvā (Sirohī State, now in Rājasthāna) as early as V. S. 1355 (=1298 A. D.).

During my explorations in the region of Kheḍa (ancient Kṣīrapura, 5 miles from Balotra in the Jodhpur division), I found an image of two handed Rāma, with bow in one hand and the arrow in the other, carved in a high niche outside the main shrine of the temple of Raṇacoḍarāyaji. Here Rāma has been depicted in the galaxy of various incarnations of Viṣṇu. It is very interesting to note the absence of Rāma on the lintel outside the subsidiary temple containing the famous image of Śeṣaśāyi nearby. The sculptor depicted all the *avatāras* of Viṣṇu except the *Rāmāvatāra*. It is not possible to account how the artist missed the representation of Rāma who has been identified with Hari (or Viṣṇu) by the Sanskrit poets and writers.

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[14] A slight reference to the Kirāḍu scenes has already been made by me in my recent paper published in the *Journal of the Museums Association of India*, Bombay, IX, 1953, p. 104.

[15] For details consult *Journal of Indian Society of Oriental Art*, XIV, pp. 12 ff.

[16] G. H. Ojha, *Sirohī Rājya kā Itihāsa*, Hindi, 1911, p. 54.

This is in nutshell a review of the Rājasthana sculptures depicting the life of Rāma and the scenes from the *Rāmāyāṇa*.

RATNA CHANDRA AGRAWALA

Kanauj after Harṣa's Death

The history of Kanauj after the death of Harṣa is somewhat confusing. Dr. R. S. Tripathi says "The period from the fall of the usurper to the rise of Yaśovarman, nearly three quarters of a century later, is one of the darkest in the whole range of the history of Kanauj, and every event of that time is hidden from view by a thick veil of oblivion."[1] Thus it is assumed that the usurper exercised his sway over the kingdom of Kanauj, and after him there is a long gap till we come to the time of Yaśovarman. In this paper, we shall first discuss the history of the "usurper" noting specially if he had any connection with the said region and then whether it is possible to throw any light into the darkness after his fall.

I

From the account left by Wang-hiuen-tse, we learn that after the death of Harṣa his throne was usurped by one A-la-na-shun and when the Chinese envoy, despatched originally into the court of Harṣa, arrived on the Indian soil, he was attacked by the usurper. Wang-hiuen-tse was the head of this embassy and he left a full account of the whole incident. But unfortunately for us his work is lost, portions of the same surviving in the quotations of later writers. Wang-hiuen-tse became fairly acquainted with North-India in as much as he came to this country twice more in 657 and 664 A.D.[2]

Ma-twan-lin gives us the following description[3]: "In the twentieth year of the Ching-Kwan period (646 A.D) the emperor of China sent Wang-hiuen-tse on an embassy to the kingdom of Magadha. When he arrived he found the usurper on the throne who sent soldiers to oppose the entry of the envoy into the country. The envoy's suite at this time consisted of only a few dozen cavalries who struggled without success and were all taken prisoners.

The envoy resolved upon action and retired to a town on the northern portion of Tu-fan or Tibet, from which he called the neighbouring kingdoms to arms. The king of Tu-fan came with a thousand soldiers and the king of Nepal with seven thousand cavalries. Wang-hiuen-tse divided them into several bodies and marched against the town of Cha-pu-ho-lo or Ta-pu-ho-lo, which he took by storm at the end of three days. He beheaded three thousand people, and ten thousand more were drowned. A-la-na-shun abandoned his kingdom and fled away: then he collected his scattered troops and attempted a fresh fight but the general Jin took him alive. Jin also captured and beheaded one thousand men. The remains of the usurper's army obeying the orders of the queen tried to stop the way upon the banks of the river Khien-to-wei but Tsiang-tsi-Jin gave them battle and defeated them. He took the queen and the King's son prisoners, captured twelve thousand men and women and twenty thousand heads of cattle and subdued five hundred eighty towns large and small.

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[1] *History of Kanauj*, 192.

[2] Lévi, Les Missions de Wang-hiuen-tse dans L'Inde, in *JA.*, 1900.

[3] I have summarised the account from Lévi's article, *JA.*, IX. 20 ff.

Wang-hiuen-tse took A-la-na-shun to China and presented him at the gate of the palace. The magistrates proclaimed the victory in an ancestral temple and the emperor raised him to the rank of Chao-san-ta-fu (a sort of auric councillor)".

The story is no doubt interesting but it is difficult to determine at the same time what were the causes that led the usurper to oppose the Chinese envoy. Evidently Ma-twan-lin had not before him the full account and some of his details are puzzling. According to him Nepal and Tibet came to the help of the envoy but no such account is furnished from these quarters.

As pointed out by Petech, for the reign of Srong-tsang-gampo, the Tibeten king, who is supposed to have come to the aid of the Chinese side, the La-dvago-rgyal-rabs is the only Tibetan source that speaks of his conquests.[4] Nowhere in it, however, we find any mention of his Indian expeditions or interventions in the Indian affairs. The view that Buddhism was introduced into Tibet during his reign seems to be doubtful and among the chief events of his time three have mainly (struck the attention of the Tibetan historians: the creation of the Tibetan alphabet on Indian pattern by Ton-mi-Sambhoṭa and the two marriages of Srong-tsang-gampo, with the daughter of Aṃśuvarman of Nepal, and with an Imperial Chinese princess.[5] In

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[4] L. Petech, *A Study on the Chronicles of Ladakh.* 51.

[5] *Ibid.*, 48.

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the Bu-ston we find an account of the Indian Pandits who went to Tibet during the reign of this monarch, but that cannot prove in any way his meddling in Indian politics. In any case, the statement of Ma-twan-lin that "the king of Tu-fan came with a thousand soldiers" remains uncorroborated from any Tibetan source.

Similarly, the Nepalese documents throw no light on the point. Aṃśuvarman's successor was Jiṣṇugupta who had evidently been ruling contemporaneously with Srong-tsang-gampo at the time of the incident. Lévi has shown that Jiṣṇugupta was an Ābhira and that during his time the Licchavis possibly regained their power.[6] But there is no mention in any Nepalese record that he or any of his nominal Licchavi lords came forward to intervene in the Indo-Chinese episode "with seven thousand cavalries" as asserted by Ma-twan-lin.

Bereft of these minor inaccuracies we may take the Chinese account as authentic. Thus it may be held that after the death of Harṣa one of his ministers usurped the powers. Lévi has shown that in the account of Wang-hiuen-tse, as preserved in the quotations of the later writers, A-la-na-shun has been described as the king of the country of Ti-no-pho-ti, which has been equated with Tirabhukti i.e., the modern Tirhoot. The river Khien-to-wei, on the bank of which "the remains of the usurper's army obeying the orders of the queen tried to stop the way", has been considered to be the Gandaki or the confluence of the Gandaki and the Gangā. These evidences prove beyond doubt that the citadel of the usurper's power was in Eastern India. In this connection we may consider the statement of Ma-twan-lin that after king Śilāditya died "his kingdom fell into a state of anarchy i.e., the kingdom was partitioned and the usurper used violence to make other kingdoms pay him tribute.[8]" Eastern India had been conquered by Harṣa only a few years before his death (c. 641 A.D.)[9] and naturally it tried to maintain its separate and distinct existence as soon as the iron hand of that Kanauj monarch was removed.

Thus there is no evidence to associate the usurper in any way with Kanauj. It has been thought on the other hand, that, as a result of the Wang-hiuen-tse episode, Tibetan suzerainty was extended over

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[6] *Le Nepal*, II, 156-9; III, 102-9.

[7] Levi, l.c.

[8] *IA.*, IX. 20.

[9] Majumdar, *History of Bengal*, I, 79.

India which lasted till 702 A.D.[10] In the History of Bengal, vol. I, 92-3 Dr. R.C. Majumdar, on the authority of S. Lévi (Nepal, II, 148), states that "there is, however, no doubt that the Tibetan king Srong-tsan-Gampo was drawn into Indian politics, either in connection with the strange episode of Wang-hiuen-tse or in pursuance of his father's policy. Whether he actually conquered any part of Indian plains is not definitely known, but he is said to have conquered Assam and Nepal and exercised suzerainty over half of Jambudvīpa. There is hardly any doubt that Nepal was at this time a vassal state of Tibet and remained so for nearly two hundred years". It has already been pointed out, however, that in the Tibetan texts there is no reference to his Indian conquests, and what Lévi means to say is simply the fact that the minister of Srong-tsang-gampo entered into "some diplomatic relationship with Hindusthan." This will be evident from foot note 1, p. 148 of his book (Le Nepal, II).

Again there are two statements made by Dr. Majumdar that require careful consideration. Speaking of Ki-li-pa-pu, the successor of Srong-tsan-gampo, it has been said, on the authority of Lévi, again, "In the south he is said to have extended his conquests as far as Central India..." (l.c. 92). In Lévi's book Le Nepal, II, 174 we read, however, "Au Śud, ses domaines s'etendaient jusqu'á l' Inde centrale (Po-lo-men)." From this it is clear that his dominion extended upto the borders of "Central India", and nothing more.

Again, we read "In 702 Nepal and Central India revolted against Tibet. Nepal was subdued and Central India even if it did not send regular tribute, did not remain free from depredations" (l.c. 95). Petech points out that Ki-nu-si-lung, the successor of Ki-li-pa-pu, died a little after 702 A.D., during a campaign against Nepal and the peoples of the Indian frontier that had rebelled against him.[11]

Thus in the present state of our knowledge it is difficult to imagine of any extension of Tibetan authority over India in the post-Harṣa period.

II

From the above discussion it is quite clear that A-la-na-shun, the usurper, ruled in Eastern India. Available evidences seem to indicate

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[10] Parker, *Journal of the Manchester Oriental Society*, 1911, 133.

[11] Petech, l.c.

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that there was a revival of Maukhari power in Kanauj which had been the capital of the dynasty before the rise of Harṣa. In this connection we may critically study the following records:—

(1) The Nālandā seal of a son of Avantivarman[12];

(2) The Nepal inscription of Jayadeva II[13];

(3) The Chinese accounts referring to Vajrabodhi and his father Īśānavarman, king of "Central India."[14]

(a) One of the seals recently discovered in Nālandā speaks of a son of Avantivarman, named Mahārājādhirāja Śrī Suva... Curiously enough the AMMK also refers to this prince. From the *Harṣacarita* we learn that Grahavarman was the "eldest son"[15] of Avantivaman, and became the king of Kanauj evidently after the latter's death. Grahavarman was murdered by the "wicked lord of Malwa" and then Kanauj was occupied by a certain Gupta or Gauḍa[16]. The *Harṣacarita* further states that after the murder of Grahavarman, all his relatives fled away and Rājyaśrī was thrown into prison, from where she ultimately escaped with the help of a "noble Gupta"[17]. Kanauj was in utter confusion, and from the Records we learn that as the throne of the country was lying vacant, it was offered to Harṣa who accepted it after great hesitation[18]. Thus after the death of Avantivarman, Kanauj passed successively under Grahavarman, a Gupta or a Gauḍa, and lastly Harṣa, and there is no room for M. Suva......in this list. So the natural inference could only be that M. Suva...ruled after Harṣa's death. Now, the question is—in which region could he have ruled? Eastern India after the death of Harṣa was parcelled into a number of kingdoms—Bengal and Assam under king Bhāṣkaravarman, the region of Magadha under the Later Gupta King Mādhava Gupta, whose son Ādityasena bore the higher designation of Mahārājādhirāja, while Tirhut and the region to the north of the Gangā under "the usurper"[19]. In the circumstances the only plausible inference is that after the death of Harṣa, M. Suva...regained his ancestral kingdom of Kanauj and evidently refused to recognise A-la-na-shun who thought himself to be the rightful claimant to Harṣa's throne. Thus we can properly understand the significance of the statement of the Chinese historian that after king Śilāditya died, his kingdom fell into a state of anarchy, "and the usurper" used violence "to make other kingdoms pay him tribute".

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[12] *Ep. Ind.*, XXIV. 283.

[13] *IA.*, IX. 178; Indraji, no. 15.

[14] Bagchi, *India and China*, 59-60.

[15] HC. Tr., 122.

[16] *Ibid.*, 173: In some of the manuscripts, instead of "Guptair=gṛhite Kuśasthale", we have the reading "Gauḍair=gṛhite Kuśasthale".

[17] *Ibid.*, 224.

[18] Beal, *Si-yu-ki*, I. 210 ff.

[19] Sen, *Some Historical Aspects of the Inscriptions of Bengal*, 274-9; 281 ff.

It may be argued that M. Suva...came to power in Eastern India after the death of Śaśāṅka and before c. 641 A.D. when the region was conquered by Harṣa. Yuan Chwang who visited the region after Śaśāṅka's death speaks of only two kings of Eastern India—Purṇavarman, evidently a local ruler of Magadha, and Bhāskaravarman of Kāmarūpa. From the Records it appears that Bihar and Bengal were at this time in utter confusion[20].

(b) If the above view be accepted then we can possibly regard Bhogavarman, mentioned in the Nepal inscription of Jayadeva II, as a successor of M. Suva·· V. 13, of the epigraph states that Śivadeva II, son of king Narendradeva, married the illustrious Vatsadevī the daughter of king Bhogavarman, the crest jewel of the illustrious Varmans of the Maukhari dynasty, so rich in strength of arms, and was the grand-daughter (daughter's daughter) of the great Magadhan king Ādityasena. This proves that Bhogavarman was a son-in-law of the Later Gupta king Ādityasena and thus may have been a contemporary of Deva Gupta II. Thus there was an alliance between the Maukharis of Kanauj, the Later Guptas of Magadha and the Licchavis of Nepal, and it is not unlikely that it was directed against the rising power of Tibet, that prevented the expansion of the hill state into the interior of India.

(c) From the Chinese sources we learn that Vajrabodhi who first went to Ceylon and then to China in c. 710 A.D. was the son of Īśānavarman "a king of Central India". He was evidently a Maukhari and bore the name of a former Maukhari Mahārājādhirāja, and may thus be considered to have belonged to the same family. Nothing is known about his reign but his date shows that he may be regarded as a successor of Bhogavarman, who according to our view ruled in Kanauj.

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[20] Ray, *The Dynastic History of Northern India*, I. 273 4.

In the AMMK we have got the following account of the Maukharis :

Īśāna Sarva Paṃktiśca Graha-Suvra tathā paraḥ
Tatas te luptarājānaḥ bhraṣṭa maryāda sarvadā[21]

As the account begins with Īśāna or Īśānavarman, it is evident that here we have only the names of the Maukhari kings who ruled as Mahārājādhirājas. The names of the predecessors of Īśānavarman, who bore the simpler designation of Mahārāja, as shown by the Haraha inscription[22] and the Asirgarh seal[23], have not been included. Similarly, it may be inferred that Bhogavarman, who is not given any high-sounding title in the Nepal inscription, and his successors have been left out. Thus if the above account is to be believed after Suvra, i.e. Mahārājādhirāja Śrī Suva.........the Maukharis lost their dignity and status. Suvra's successor Bhogavarmm, as we have already seen, was the son-in-law of Mahārājādhirāja Ādityasena of Magadha whose military capacity described in eight verses of his own inscription[24] leaves the impression that he brought a considerable portion of North-India under his sway. It has been assumed that the Kendur plates referring to a king of North-India having the epithet *sakalottarāpathanātha* refers to Ādityasena or his son Deva Gupta (II)[25]. It is thus not unlikely that the Maukhari rulers of Kanauj after Suvra had to acknowledge the supremacy of the Later Gupta kings of Magadha.

SUDHAKAR CHATTOPADHYAYA

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[21] Ch. 53, 626.
[22] *Ep. Ind.*, XIV, 110f.
[23] Corpus, III, 220.
[24] *Ibid.*, 200.
[25] *PHAI.*, 4th ed. 216-7.

Was there any conflict between the Brahmins and the Buddhists?

It is common for the historians to trace the origin of Buddhism as a protest against (i) the ceremonialism and ritualism enjoined by the Vedas, and (ii) the caste system based on denial of human equality and the supremacy of Brāhmins—the priestly class. Caste and rituals were sources of power and wealth of the Brāhmins and since Buddhism tried to undermine popular faith in them, it is said to have incurred the bitter and undying hostility of the vested interests—the Brāhmins.

At the outset, it may be pointed out that evidence of Buddhist-Brāhminical conflict is extremely tenuous in Sanskrit literature. In such a vast literature extending over 1500 years, only a few such references can be traced. On the contrary, absence of any particularly anti-Buddhist or anti-Brāhminical feeling in the literature is significant.

The premise that Buddhism attacked Brāhminical supremacy is itself erroneous. In fact, the caste system in the form in which we know it had not come into existence at the time of the Buddha.[1] There are numerous references to castes in the Buddhist literature but hardly anyone is deprecatory.

There are five important suttas of the Buddha dealing with the institution of caste—Vāseṭṭha sutta of the *Sutta Nipāta*, Soṇadaṇḍa sutta and Aggañña sutta of the *Dīgha Nikāya* and Madhura sutta and Assalāyana sutta of the *Majjhima Nikāya*. The first thing to be noticed in these sayings is that it is the Kṣatriyas who were ranked the foremost in the caste hierarchy and not the Brāhmins; the latter appear to be trying to assert their superiority over the former. In the Ambaṭṭha sutta, the Buddha establishes that "the Kṣatriyas are higher and the Brāhmans inferior".[2] Invariably and significantly the Kṣatriyas are mentioned first in the caste hierarchy.

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[1] "The key-stone of the arch of the peculiarly Indian Caste Organisation—the absolute supremacy of the Brāhmin had not yet been put in position, had not, in fact, been yet made ready. The caste system in any proper or exact use of the term did not exist". Rhys Davids: *Sacred Books of the Buddhists*; vol. II, p. 101.

[2] *Dīgha Nikāya*, ii, 26-27. *Dialogues of the Buddha*, S. B. B., vol. II, pp.

Secondly, the Buddha did not challenge the caste system as such. All that he urged was that this social classification should be based on karma (action) and not on birth.[3] In the Soṇadaṇḍa sutta again a person is a Brāhmin if he possesses virtues and wisdom, and not because of colour, birth or knowledge of sacred verses.[4] The Madhura sutta[5] states that *karma* (deeds) and not caste determines the consequences a man has to undergo for his acts, good or evil. In the Assalāyana sutta the claim that Brāhmins form the best caste, as of right, is repudiated. According to the Buddha, the superiority of caste depends upon character, upon *karma*. A Brāhmin given to evil doing "would arise in the Waste, the Bad Bourn, the Downfall Hell" notwithstanding his caste. A person of lower caste who refrains from evil ways, on the other hand, "would arise in a Good Bourn, a Heaven World"[6]

Thirdly, it was not the Buddha alone who assailed social classification based on birth. The Brāhmins were themselves divided over this question.[7] In the Ambaṭṭha sutta, the Buddha quotes the example of Kaṇha, the son of a slave woman who became a great seer and founded a Brāhmin family.[8] Did not certain Brāhmins say: '*Janmanā jāyate śūdra, karmaṇā jāyate dvijah*' (A man is a śūdra by birth and brāhmin by karma)?

120-21. In the Kaṇṇakatthala sutta of the *Majjhima Nikāya* (ii, 128 Pali Text Society Translation series, vol. XV, p. 67) in the Buddha's enumeration of the four castes, Kṣatriyas are mentioned before Brāhmin. The Aggañña sutta (*Dīgha Nikāya*, iii), in tracing the evolution of the world, states that the Kṣatriyas arose first to curb the evil doers by punitive action and then the Brāhmins to restrain evil disposition which led to evil doing.

[3] *Vāseṭṭha Sutta*, 57; *Sutta Nipāta*, *Mahāvagga*, 9; *Sacred Books of the East*, vol. X, p. 116. In the *Vasalasutta*, we read: "Not by birth does one become an outcast, not by birth does one become a Brāhmaṇa; by deeds one becomes an outcast, by deeds one becomes a Brāhmaṇa". *Sutta Nipāta*, 135.

[4] *Dīgha Nikāya*, IV 14-16. S.B.B. II, p. 153-54.

[5] Translated by Chalmers in *JRAS*. 1894.

[6] Coomaraswamy and Horner: *Living Thoughts of Gotama the Buddha*, pp. 125-28.

[7] In the *Vāseṭṭha Sutta*, two Brāhmins Bhāradvāja and Vāseṭṭha, well versed in the Vedas approach the Buddha for settlement of their dispute. "We have a controversy regarding (the distinctions of) birth, O Gotama! Bhāradvāja says, one is a Brāhmaṇa by birth, and I say, by deeds........" (*Vāseṭṭha Sutta*, 3).

[8] *Dīgha Nikāya*. iii, S.B.B., vol. II.

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The views of the Buddha about caste were in keeping with the teaching of the Upaniṣads.[9] The two Buddhist tre[illegible] *Vajrasūci* and *Sūtrālaṃkāra*, attack the caste system based on birth. The *Vajrasūci*[10] does not repudiate caste distinction or superiority of Brāhmins but merely asserts that it should be based on conduct and not lineage. It quotes the Vedas, the Mahābhārata and even Manu to support its thesis which again shows that the Brāhmins themselves were not unanimous in upholding a caste system based on birth. In *Kalpanāmaṇḍitikā*[11] (Sūtrālaṃkāra), Kumāralata in the same way attacks caste system by quotations from Manu.

In spite of its repudiation of a hereditary caste system, the Brāhmins occupy a high position in Buddhism. In the Nikāyas, the Brāhmins are considered superior to and distinct from ordinary men.[12] In the Jātakas, the brāhmins are almost invariably referred to respectfully. As a Bodhisattva, the Buddha in his previous births, is frequently stated to have taken birth as a brāhmin.[13] One of the four things in which the Buddhas, according to *Milindapañha*, differ is that some are born as Brāhmins and others as Kṣatriyas.[14]

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[9] Satyakāma, the illegitimate son of a servant, Jābāla, was considered a true Brāhmin fit to be initiated as a brahmacāri because he spoke the truth. Chāndogya, iv, 4.

[10] Translated by Hodgson in *The Languages, Literature and Religion of Nepal and Tibet*, pp. 126-33.

[11] Winternitz: *History of Indian Literature*, vol. II, p. 265 f. n. 2.

[12] "He (Buddha) by himself thoroughly knows and sees the worlds of gods, māras, recluses, brāhmins and men..." (Ambaṭṭha sutta 2, *Digha Nikāya*) In the Pāsādika sutta 29, Digha, it is stated that whatever is seen, known and accomplished by men, recluses or brāhmins is all understood by the Tathāgata. See also Mahāsihanāda Sutta, Majjhima, 1. 69 (*Early Buddhist Scriptures*, Ed. Thomas, p. 141) and *Mahāvastu* 330; translated by J. J. Jones, Part I, S. B. B., vol. XVI. "When the Buddhists" wrote T. W. Rhys Davids" in selecting a title of honour for those they valued so highly, for the best of men, for the Arahats, selected the name of Brāhman, it is clear that the word, in the opinion of the early Buddhists, conveyed to the minds of the people an exalted meaning, a connotation of real veneration and respect. And it is not likely that this would have been the case unless the Brāhmans had, at least as a general rule, deserved it —and on other grounds than the mere prerogative of birth." S. B, B. Vol. II: Introduction to *Soṇadaṇḍasutta* IV, p. 140-41. "Even the fact that the true, genuine Brāhman is not seldom represented as the noblest of creatures, in contradistinction to those who are merely Brāhmans by birth,.. ....would have been impossible if the type had wholly failed in common life". Kern: *Manual of Buddhism*, p. 67.

[13] "Bodhisattvas are born in one of two classes of families either noble or

The relationship between the Brāhmin and Buddhist monks is thus described in *Itivuttaka*, 107: "Exceedingly helpful to you, O monks, are Brāhman householders who present you with garments, medicines and utensils. And you verily, O monks, are exceedingly helpful to the Brāhman householders for ye point out to them the law of their first, middle and last good actions and ye do proclaim unto them the life of chastity, with its meaning and its characteristics absolutely complete and perfect."[15] In the edicts of Aśoka, respect and liberality towards Brāhmins and Śramaṇas is enjoined upon the people. *Mahāvastu* (3rd century B.C.), *Avadāna Śataka* (2nd century A.D.), *Jātaka mālā* (6th century A.D.) and *Śikṣā Samuccaya* (7th century A.D.) all required a bodhisattva to bestow gifts on Brāhmins and Śramaṇas. Harṣa, the Buddhist monarch, patronized Hinduism. In his quinquinnial assemblies, Āditya Deva and Īśvara Deva[16] were worshipped after the Buddha, and the Brāhmins, after Buddhist monks, enjoyed his fabulous charities. The Chinese travellers make no mention whatsoever of antagonism between the Brāhmins and the Buddhists. Their accounts testify to the manner in which the peoples of India professing different faiths lived amicably. According to Fa Hien,[17] Brāhmins gave gifts to Buddhist monks. According to Sung Yung,[18] the people of Gandhāra belonged entirely to the Brāhmin caste who "had a great respect for the law of Buddha and loved to read the sacred books........" Hiuen Tsiang tells us that there were 100 Buddhist saṅghārāmas and 200 Deva (Hindu) temples in Kanauj.[19] According to this Chinese traveller, Śilāditya (Śri Harṣa), the Buddhist King, convened a general council of Śramaṇas and Brāhmins.[20] He also mentions that the

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brāhman." *Mahāvastu* 197, Translated by J. J. Jones: S. B. B. vol. XVI, part I, p. 156.

[14] Hardy: *A Manual of Buddhism*, p. 87.

[15] Quoted from Proceedings of the Fifth Indian Oriental Conference. vol. II (1930). p. 923.

[16] Beal: *Life of Hiuen Tsing*, p. 186.

[17] Beal: *Buddhist Records of the Western World*, vol. I, XXXIX.

[18] *Ibid.*

[19] *Ibid.*, vol. I, p. 207.

[20] *Ibid.*, p. 218. Beal: *Life of Hiuen Tsiang*, p. 176.

Buddhist monks at Nālandā studied "even ordinary works as the Vedas."[21] The episode mentioned by that traveller of the attempted assassination of Harṣa by heretics cannot be attributed to Brāhmins in general with certainty and is extremely doubtful as the version in the life of Hiuen Tsiang is that the dissatisfied Hīnayānist monks plotted against the life of the pilgrim.[22] In any case, it is an isolated instance from which even the narrator does not draw an inference of general hostility between the two groups. Bāṇa, in *Harṣacarita* in his description of the hermitage of Divākaramitra tells us that the adherents of various faiths including the Buddhists and Brāhmins were "all diligently following their own tenets, pondering, urging objections, raising doubts and resolving them."[23]

Nor was there any reason for Brāhmins to consider Buddhism a hostile faith. Buddhism, when it arose, was not a religion. It was merely the fourth Āśrama of the Hindus—the Sannyāsa Āśrama writ large. In that stage of life, there are no caste distinctions;[26] the Sannyāsi is not to observe the Vedic Karmakāṇḍa—performance of prayers, sacrifices and rituals. He is, in fact, above social rules of morality. He is to cultivate *vairāgya*, complete detachment from the world, and concentrate himself on Mokṣa. Verily the code of the Buddhist Bhikṣus was little different from that of the Sannyāsin. Buddhism was not antagonistic to Brāhminism; it was merely an aspect of it magnified and Brāhmins paid to the Buddhist monks the respect that was their due.[25]

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[21] Beal: *Life of Hiuen Tsiang*, p. 112. [22] *Ibid.*, p. 179.

[23] Bāṇa: *Harṣacarita*: Translated by Cowell and Thomas, p. 236.

[24] "Just as, O monks, the great rivers such as the Gaṅgā, the Yamunā, Aciravati, Sarabhū and Māhi when they fall into the ocean lose their former names and clans and are known as the ocean, even so do the four castes of Kṣatriyas, Brāhmins, Vaiśyas and Śūdras, when they have gone forth in the Doctrine and Discipline taught by the Tathāgata, from a home to a homeless life lose their former names and clans (nāmagotra) and are known as ascetics". Udāna V 5. As pointed out by Rhys Davids (S. B. B. vol. II, p. 103), the Sāmaññaphala sutta (35-36) indicates that a slave could join any order and in the Aggañña sutta of the Dīgha and the Madhura sutta V of the Majjhima there is express mention that a śūdra could become a Samana (not necessarily a Buddhist śramaṇa) who was entitled to and was given uniform respect. Speaking of the moral obligation of the śramaṇas i.e. those who have renounced the world, Kern says that "No one, unless unacquainted with Brāhmanic literature, will fail to perceive that this superior morality is nothing else but the rule of life of the Dvija in the fourth Āśrama, when he is a Yati or Mukta". (*Manual of Indian Buddhism*, p. 70).

In *Majjhima Nikāya* Bhāradvājagotra, Brāhmin sacrificer, asks the paribbājaka Māgandiya not to speak ill of the Buddha as he was much respected by the learned Brāhmins, Khattiyas, householders and monks.[26] The Brāhmins of Veṭhadīpa had a share in the relics of the Master and the Brāhmin Droṇa mediated between the kings who were preparing for a battle for having a share in the relics "as it would have been a dishonour to the Buddha.[27]

In fact, "it was precisely the Brāhmins themselves who often took the most earnest interest in his (Buddha's) speculations."[28] The Buddhist literature specifically mentions the conversions of Brāhmins and it was from their ranks that the greatest exponents of the philosophy of the Buddha were recruited. The Buddha's two chief disciples Sāriputta and Moggallāna came of Brāhmin families and so also Mahākassapa and other distinguished disciples of the Buddha. Nāgasena, who converted king Milinda was the son of a Brāhmin. Nāgārjuna, the greatest Buddhist philosopher, and the founder of the Mādhyamika school of philosophy, was a Brāhmin. Aśvaghoṣa, the greatest Buddhist literateur and spiritual adviser of the Buddhist king Kaniṣka, was a Brāhmin by birth. Asaṅga, the founder of the Yogācāra School of Buddhist philosophy, was a Brāhmin convert from N. W. India. His brother Vasubandhu was another great Buddhist luminary and author of the *Abhidharmakośa*. Buddhaghoṣa, author of the *Visuddhimagga* and a great commentator of the Pali literature, came of a Brāhmin family of Bodha Gayā (5th century A. D.). Dignāga, the founder of the Buddhist School of Logic in 6th century A. D., was the son of a Brāhmin of Conjeevaram. Some scholars identify Gauḍapāda, the teacher of Saṅkara's teacher Govinda, as a Buddhist. On the other hand, the greatest champion of orthodox Hinduism and enemy of Buddhism—Kumārila Bhaṭṭa, was a Hindu convert from Buddhism. Similarly, Bhatṛhari, the famous logician and grammarian, became a Buddhist monk several times and again returned to the Hindu fold. In such an atmosphere of intellectual freedom—easy transfer of allegiance from one faith to another and with the greatest champions of the heretical faith having been provided by that section of the Hindu community whose vested interests it sought to attack,—religious antagonism is inconceivable.

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[25] Not long after the death of the Buddha, Ajātaśatru was having the fortifications of Rājagṛha strengthened as he was distrustful of King Pajjota. At this time Ānanda was at Rājagṛha. One day, when it was too early to go for alms, he went to see the work of construction by Brāhmin Gopaka—Moggallāna. The latter spoke to Ānanda thus: "Let the respected Ānanda come; welcome to the respected Ānanda; it is long since the venerable Ānanda has passed this way, that is so as to come hero—"Then the venerable Ānanda sat down in the seat pointed out and at one side Vassakara, the Brāhman Chief Minister of Magadha, who was visiting the work at Rājagṛha also came and sat down at one side." Gopaka Moggallāna sutta in *Majjhima Nikāya*, iii, 7

[26] *Majjhima Nikāya*, vol. I, pp. 501-13. Quoted in *Buddhistic Studies*: Ed by B. C. Law, p. 97.

[27] Hardy: *A Manual of Buddhism*, p. 351.

[28] Rhys Davids: *History of Buddhist Literature*, p. 115.

On the contrary, there is evidence of Brāhmins patronizing Buddhism. According to Hiuen Tsiang, the Vihāra at Buddha Gayā was reconstructed on a large scale by a Brāhmin[29] about the 1st century B.C.[30] The first monastery at Nālandā is also said to have been built by two Brāhmin brothers.[31] The coins[32] of Yaudheya Chief, Brāhmaṇa Deva, a worshipper of Bhāgavata, carry images of Bodhi tree, Caitya, Buddhist railing and Dharma Cakra. Brāhminical revival, which started under the Suṅgas, reached its high water mark under the Guptas, the greatest champions of orthodoxy. The Gupta rulers gave numerous grants for the maintenance of Buddhist monasteries and Vasubandhu the Buddhist, already mentioned, was the teacher of Samudragupta when he was a prince. In the Purāṇas, the Buddha became the ninth avatāra of Viṣṇu.

Śaṅkara is credited with having driven Buddhism out of India.[33] But it may be said without exaggeration that Śaṅkara's philosophy is Nāgārjuna's in a new bottle. He undoubtedly represents the most complete synthesis of Brāhmanical and Buddhist streams of thought, but his most important contribution, the concept of Brahman, is neo-Śūnyavāda. In his *Dasāvatāra-stotram*, Śaṅkara described the Buddha as the prince among Yogis who dwelt in the centre of his heart. Not without reason, he was dubbed as a Pracchanna Bauddha or Crypto Buddhist[34] by his critics. As such, the story of his bitter hostility towards Buddhism appears to be puzzling.[35] It was perhaps a tactical move to silence his critics viz. the Mīmāṁsaka, without compromising his principles. It would be observed that Śaṅkara was chided by Maṇḍana Miśra, a stauch Mīmāṁsaka, for considering Jñāna (knowledge of the absolute) as superior to Karma Kāṇḍa of the Vedas.

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[29] Beal: *Buddhist Records of the Western World*, vol. II, p. 119.

[30] *Archaeological Survey Report*, III, p. 93. [31] *Ibid.*, pp. 93-95.

[32] Cunningham: *Archaeological Survey of India Report*, vol. XIV, p. 143.

[33] There is hardly anything specially Buddhistic in Śaṅkara-Vijaya's Chapter on Buddha-mata nirākaraṇa: Nariman: *Literary History of Sanskrit Buddhism*, p. 287.

Naturally, the question arises as to how do we explain the few anti-Buddhistic instances in history and references in literature.

Of all the schools of Indian philosophy, Pūrva Mīmāṁsā of Jaimini alone considers the Vedas as the source of the highest knowledge. It regards the Vedas as eternal and self-existent and not the work of God. In their anxiety to uphold the supremacy of the Vedas, the Mīmāṁsakas even ignored God. At the same time, they emphasized Karma Kāṇḍa—the performance of sacrifices and rituals as enjoined by the law makers for the various castes was considered a religious duty. While other philosophical schools regarded the Vedas as one of the valid sources of knowledge and testimony, the heretical schools like the Buddhists, Jainas and Lokāyatakas even repudiated that. They emphasised the futility of sacrificial rites. As the Bodhisattva observes in the Bhūridatta Jātaka:

> "The Vedas have no hidden power to save
> The Traitor or the Coward or the Knave,
> The fire though tended well for long years past,
> Leaves his base master without hope at last."[36]

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[34] *Padma-Purāṇa* says. "The great doctrine of Māyā (that is Śaṅkara's philosophy) appears to be an interpretation of the Vedas but really is anti-Vedic. It has been proclaimed to the world to hasten its destruction. This doctrine of Māyā is a false philosophy; verily it is Buddhism in disguise. It has been preached by the Destructive Power in the form of a Brāhman of the Kali Age (namely Śaṅkarācārya)." (*Padma Purāṇa* quoted by Vijñāna Bhikṣu in his commentary on the Sāṅkhya philosophy—*See* p. 56 of *Buddha Mimāṁsā* by Yogiraja Disciple Maitreya).

[35] I guess that in Mādhavācārya's *Śaṅkara-Digvijaya* and Anandagiri's *Śaṅkaravijaya*, emphasis on Śaṅkara's hostility towards Buddhism may have been due to rivalry between Śaivism and Vaiṣṇavism Śaṅkara is supposed to be an incarnation of Śiva, while the Buddha is that of Viṣṇu.

[36] The *Jātaka* XXII. 200 Trans: *Cowell and Rouse*, vol VI.

The Nāstikas (those who do not believe in the Vedas) therefore came in direct conflict with the Mīmāṁsakas. Subandhu, the author of *Vāsavadattā* tells us that the followers of Jaimini, i.e. Pūrva Mīmāṁsakas attacked Buddhism.[37] Kumārila, who denounced Buddhism with the zeal of a convert, was a Mīmāṁsaka. According to him the Buddha, who was a Kṣatriya who "transgressed the duties of his own class in taking upon himself the works of teaching and receiving presents; and hence how can we believe that true Dharma or Duty would be taught by one who has transgressed his own Dharma?" "For the sake of the well-being of humanity, He (the Buddha) transgressed his own duties of the Kṣatriya, and having taken up the duties of the Brāhmaṇa, he taught, even to the people outside the pale of Vedic religion, such truths relating to the Dharma, as were not taught by the Brāhmaṇas who were unable to transgress the prohibition (of such teaching being imparted to outsiders); and thus prompted by his mercy to others, he even went to the length of transgressing his own Dharma."[38] Hindu Law has been largely influenced by Pūrva-Mīmāṁsā. Hence Manu's injunction that those who deny the authority of the Vedas would lose their caste.[39]

Conflict of economic interest perhaps reinforced the hostility of Mīmāṁsaka brāhmins towards the Buddhist monks. The latter, along with other followers of the *jñāna mārga*, discounted the utility of performance of rites and ceremonies enjoined by the followers of Karma-mārga viz. the Mīmāṁsakas. These practices had no value at all for persons who had renounced the world. This naturally affected adversely the interests of Brāhmins inasmuch as the performance of rites and ceremonies was a source of income to them. That is how we can explain the hostility of the Mīmāṁsakas towards monks. In the story of Mālinī, narrated in the *Mahāvastu*, the brahmins were to put Mālinī to death. "For", said they, "she is a thorn in the side of the brāhmaṇs in the King's Court. King Kṛki was devoted to the brāhmaṇs and twenty thousand of them ate daily at his court—. But she, disdaining the Brāhmaṇs has introduced recluses into the King's Court and has treated them with all this veneration and honour. She has served and honoured the recluses with the means of subsistence which was due to the brāhmaṇs at the King's Court".[40] Again, referring to sacrificial Brāhmins, the Bodhisattva in *Bhūridatta Jātaka* says:

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[37] Subandhu: *Vāsavadattā*, 144 Translated by Gray p. 88. According to Pandit R. V. Krishnamachariar, Subandhu was a Vaiṣṇavite and an adherent of the Mimāṁsā philosophy. Gray: *ibid.*, p. 13 footnote 2.

[38] *Tantra-vārttika*, Adhyāya I, Pada III, Adhi III, Trans. by G. N. Jha, pp 167-68.

[39] Nilakaṇṭha, a jurist, in his *Prāyaścitta Mayūkha* quotes a verse from Manu to this effect: "If a person touches a Buddhist or a follower of Paśupata, Lokāyataka, Nāstika and Mahāpātaki, he shall purify himself by a bath." The development of rules regarding expiatory ceremonies has been greatly influenced by Pūrva-Mimāṁsā. Besides, Nilakaṇṭha and his family were leading Mimāṁsakas. See the *Introduction to Vyavahāra Mayūkha* by P. V. Kane: *Bombay Samskrit and Prākrit Series* No. LXXX.

> "These Brāhmins all *a livelihood require*
> And so they tell us Brahma worships fire".[41]

The *Brāhmadhammika sutta* of the Sutta Nipāta states that the Brāhmins became degraded by accumulating wealth through sacrifices performed by kings as per instructions of the Brāhmins. The charge levelled against the Buddha in the *Tantravārttika* in having violated his Dharma by not only undertaking the task of teaching but also by receiving presents obliquely points to the underlying economic conflict. But it is to be noted that there is a recognition, however reluctant, that the Buddha preached the truth even to the outcastes.

According to Hiuen Tsiang,[42] the heretics including 500 Brāhmins had plotted to assassinate Śilāditya (Harṣa) because they were "jealous of the Śramaṇas, whom the King had reverenced and exceedingly honoured. . . . . .[43]

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40 *The Mahāvastu*, 309, Translated by Jones S. B. B. vol. XVI p. 258.

41 *The Jātaka*, XXII, 199 Trans. Cowell and Rouse, vol VI, p. 207.

42 Beal: *Buddhist Records of the Western World*, vol. I, p. 221.

43 In this connection, we may quote an episode narrated by Ānandagiri in his Śaṅkaravijaya showing the contempt with which the Mīmāṁsakas treated all Sannyāsins. "At that time, while Maṇḍana Miśra, having invited all the gods by the invocation of Sālagrāma, was washing his hand of the darbha grass, he saw the feet of Śaṅkarācārya inside the sanctified circle. On inspection of his person, he knew him to be a Sannyāsin and was in a moment ruffled with clamorous wrath and cried out, "Whence comes this shaven headed man?" It is significant that the fire worshipper Brāhmin Aggikabhāradvāja of the Vasalasutta seeing the Buddha coming at a distance cried out: "Stay there O' shaveling; (stay) there O Samanaka (wretched samana); (stay) there O Vasalaka (i.e. outcast)." Likewise Brāhmin Sundarikabhāradvāja, a fire wor-

Puśyamitra Śuṅga is the only important Indian ruler who is charged with anti-Buddhistic activities. Evidently, he was a Mīmāṁsaka as he was a Sāmavedī Brāhmin[44] who revived sacrifices and re-established the supremacy of Brāhmins. Perhaps, he was influenced by political motives; he had wrested power from the Mauryas whose greatest ruler was also the greatest patron of Buddhism. In Brāhmins, he could find a valuable ally. Religious bigotry, however, seems to have been a personal trait of Puśyamitra for the gateways of the Bharhut and Sāñci stūpas were built during the Śuṅga period, those of the former by Dhanabhūti, an ally or feudatory of the Śuṅgas. The references to Buddhist persecution by Mihirgula and Śaśāṅka[45] are too vague, and highly exaggerated in the case of the obscure prince Sudhanvan. The latter was under the influence of Mīmāṁsakas. The evidence on the other hand, proving absence of any antagonism or conflict except to a very limited extent, is weighty and conclusive. In fact the Purāṇas appropriated the Buddha as an Avatāra (an incarnation) of Viṣṇu. The Buddhists, on the other hand, identified Bodhisattva Avalokiteśvara with the Hindu gods, Brahma, Indra, Īśvara and Maheśvara (Śiva).[46]

Y. KRISHAN

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shipper, seeing the Buddha, thought: "This man is shaved, this man is a shaveling." *Sutta Nipāta.*

[44] The Jaiminīyas are an important branch of the Sāmavedins.

[45] Beal: *Life of Hiuen Tsiang*, p. 171.

[46] In the *Saddharmapuṇḍarīka* (S. B. E. vol. XX, chap. XIV p. 411), Avalokiteśvara preaches the law in the form of Brahmā, Indra, Īśvara and Maheśvara according to the needs of beings. In *Kāraṇḍa Vyūha*, it is related that in the time of Vipasvyin Buddha when Avalokiteśvara created the world, Maheśvara sprang from the forehead, Brahmā from the shoulders, Nārāyaṇa (Viṣṇu) from the heart and Sarasvatī from his mouth. (Quoted in Winternitz: *A History of Indian Literature*, vol. II, p. 308). In the *Dasabhūmikasūtra*, again, a bodhisattva is born as Indra, Mahābrahmā and Maheśvara (Śiva) in various stages. (Dr. Har Dayal: *The Bodhisattva Doctrine*, p. 284).

MISCELLANY

A Note on Rāṇā Mokal's Plate
V.S. 1482 (1425 A.D.)*

The plate under review was first noticed by me in its transcribed form. This first introduction naturally gave rise to a curiosity in my mind to compare the transcribed text with the text embodied in the original. Fortunately Sri Bhanwar Lal,[1] Chief mason of the state came to my help in offering me an opportunity to examine and compare the copy with the original in his presence, which he had inherited from his ancestors.

It consists of a single sheet measuring about 10″ × 8″ which appears to have been given the required shape and size by constant hammering of lumps of copper. Its weight is in no way less than 1½ seer approximately. The obverse side of the plate only has been used for writing, the reverse one being left blank. The letters of the text are well and deeply cut by its engraver. The size of letters is uniform throughout excepting in case of a few lines in the latter part of the text, where they are a bit smaller. The reason of reducing the size and space seems to be the desire of the engraver of accommodating the whole text on one side of the plate. However, the engraving of letters is so achieved that it is fairly legible. It is in a well preserved state.

It is written in a Nagari script of Mahajani character, the mode of writing in which nearly all deeds of the state were issued during the 14th and subsequent centuries.

The language is Mewari[2] or the local dialect. The text of the plate is in prose excepting the imprecatory verse in the end.

It is on the whole free from gross errors, though spelling mistakes, which are so common with the Mahajani mode of writing occur at every step. As for example the words like 'Sutradhar', 'Kaput', 'Saputa' are written with short 'u' instead of long 'u'. In 'Nahin' 'Men' etc. 'anuswar' is conspicuous by its absence. The sign of viram is not used at the end of the sentence excepting in case of few phrases.

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* Rāṇā Mokal was the ruler of Mewar (Rajasthan) from 1421 to 1433 A.D.

[1] He is the direct descendant of the original donee.

[2] An exclusive use of Mewari for grants begins from the 15th century Vikrama Era. Up to Hamir's time 1383-1421 V.S. Sanskrit was freely used for the purpose, as evidenced by copies of two copper plate grants of his time, noticed by Dr. Ojha in an old file (*URI.*, vol. I, p. 266).

As regards orthography the following points need to be noted. 'y' is denoted by double 'y'. 'd' resembles 'u' to a great extent. 'ca' and 'v', 't' and 'n', 'm' and 'bh' etc., are similar in appearance. 'kha' and 'ṣ' are both represented by the same 'Mūrdhaṇya ṣ.'

I propose here to give a brief survey of the contents as preserved in eighteen lines of the main text of the plate as follows:

The contents begin after the auspicious address 'Śri Rāmo jayati'—'Victory to Rāma,[3] on the top. An obeisance is paid to Gaṇeśa in a small phrase, inscribed on the left corner of the plate, viz., 'Śrī Gaṇeśa prasādāt'—'By favour of Gaṇeśa.' The right corner of the plate bears, similarly, propitious phrase 'Śrī Ekaliṅga prasādāt'—'By favour of Ekaliṅga', the guardian deity of the ruling dynasty of Udaipur.

Then follows the incised seal of 'Bhala'—the lance. It is an important fact to note that the lance mark on the upper portion of the plate appears to have commenced from about the concluding years of the reigning period of Lakha, (1439-1477 = 1382-1420 A.D.) the father of Mokal (V. S. 1477-1490 = 1420-1433 A.D.) Lakha accorded to Cunda the privilege of superadding to the autograph of the prince his own lance in recognition of his noble sacrifice that he had shown in renouncing his claims to the throne of Mewar in favour of his brother, Mokal, born of Haṃsabai, wife of Lakha, who was formerly offered to Cunda by Ranmall[4]. Accordingly Cunda and his successors continued the practice of incising the mark of the lance on all state documents till the reigning period of Ari Singh II V.S. 1745-1767, who authorised *sahivalas*—the royal draftsman (*URI.*, footnote no. 2, page 266) to execute it for Cunda's house. Thus this plate is one of the earliest of the examples which explain the creation of new precedent for marking the state papers.

Then comes 'Sahi'—approval. This is also another practice which belongs to this age. The older practice of putting the full signature of the royal donor on documents stating 'svahasto mama' seems to have

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[3] In all documents obeisance is first paid to Rāma due to the sense of reverence that Guhilots owe to Him as the first progenitor of the dynasty.

[4] Ojha, vol. I, vol. *URI.*, 266. Tod: *AAR.*, vol. I, pp. 323-324.

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gone out of use about the beginning of the 12th century and in place of that, sign-manual of prince was represented by a small spear-head at the extreme end of the plate probably made out in his own hand[5]. However, putting some specific sign either of spear or river continued optionally up to the 16th century (Vikrama era) as evidenced by copper plates of Rāṇā Kumbha and Udai Singh[6]. About the age of Mokal putting 'Sahi' by Sahivala came into vogue, though sometimes in the earlier part of its growth this system remained optional.[7] Nandi Village plate of V. S. 1494 does not bear 'Sahi'. This plate under review, therefore, stands as a landmark in the study of the evolution of the marks of both 'Bhala' and 'Sahi'.

Now begins the main body of the text which contains valuable historical information. The donor was Mokal, father of Rāṇā Kumbha, the celebrated hero of the line of Guhilot. The donee was Mandan, the famous architect and writer who flourished during the reigning period of Mokal and Kumbha. The deed further informs us that Rāṇā Mokal invited and procured with great difficulty Mandan a native of Gujarat, as he was in need of an expert on the study of architecture. His presence in Mewar is not free from significance. In the first place it shows the opening of the period of architectural glory in Mewar and in the second place it explains the influence of Gujarat School of architecture on the local art. Mokal who was interested in the works of construction preserved the Samidheśvar temple, a fine monument of Cālukya art at Citor through repairs conducted under the supervision of Mandan. Baghela tank was also constructed during the same period under his able guidance. The four-walls of Ekaliṅga's temple were finalised under his supervision. His services were best utilized during the reigning period of Kumbha who was a magnificent builder. Mandan helped in the erection of Vijaya Stambha the tower of victory which is a symbolic monument of elegance and classical taste of the period. Something like thirty two forts, of which Kumbhalgarh is one, were constructed under his supervision by his master's order. Several temples of which Kumbha

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[5] Kadmal plate V.S. 1140. *Nāgarī Pracāriṇī Patrikā*, vol I, p. 451.

[6] Old Deposit Records, Udaipur.

[7] Dr. Ojha is not correct in stating in his *URI.*, vol. I, p. 266, note 2 that incising of 'Sahi' originated from Kumbha's reign (V.S. 1490-1525) because this plate under review (Mokal's plate) bears the mark of 'Sahi'.

Śyam at Citor is significant were constructed under his guidance. It was Mandan who laid out the pathway to the fort of Citor and helped in getting repaired several public places at Citor and Kumbhalgarh.[8] In all the monuments referred to above we find that structural ideas and symbolism are nearly always essentially Mewari while decorative suggestions, elegance and picturing of life is Gujarati.

The plate further records that the Rāṇā awarded Mandan the liberal grant of village Gundali[9], in the Pargana of Kelwara. The use of the word 'pargana' which is noticed in this plate explains the fact that near about this period Mewar adopted 'pargana' as one of the units of administration. Because early inscriptions show that village was only the unit after 'deśa', it is clear that the regular Muslim invasions of Alauddin Khilji, Muhammed Tughlaq, Dilawar Khan of Gujarat, Firoz Khan of Nagor etc.[10] left important mark like this on the administrative system of Mewar.

The plate then records other favours granted by the Rāṇā to Mandan, one is Rs. 30 per month from Tax collecting station[11] and other is supply of full foodstuff from the portal of harem[12]. This fact elucidates the main source of income which the State derived from the collection of taxes and further explains that portal of harem was associated with important items of expenditure.

Then the donee was also authorised to appropriate his share of income on the occasion of several religious and ceremonial rites observed at the time of the construction of altar, temple, tank, wells, palaces etc. The list of these activities furnished by the plate points to the architectural and religious activities of the ruler concerned.

Then the donor points to his successor the course of 'mahāsati' that they may incur if they would attempt to dispossess the donee or his followers, however incapable they may be, from the privileges specified in the charter.

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[8] Family records of Sri Bhanwarlal and Kumbhalgarh inscription.

[9] In V.S. 1917 Rāṇā Swaroop Singh observing some irregularity confiscated the Jagir of this village from Chen Ram the descendant of Mandan which is clear from a Patta in possession of Sri Bhanwarlal.

[10] Elliot & Dowson: *History of India*, vol. 3, pp. 76-77.
Firishta: (Briggs) vol. I, pp. 353-54.
Bhavnagar Inscription p. 119.
Chitor Ins. of V.S. 1485.
Ekalinga Ins. of V.S. 1545.

[11] Text 'Denicabutra'.

[12] 'Zanani Dodi' as mentioned in the plate.

The grant was issued by the order of the Rāṇā and his order was conveyed to the scribe, Pancoli Catra Bhuj, through Pancoli Lakṣman Singh Goravat.

The lines 16-17 embody the commonly quoted imprecatory verse prescribing eternal misery of falling to the life of earth-worm for those who confiscate the land given by him or any other person.

The last line covers the year of the grant given in numerical symbols —V.S. 1482 corresponding to A.D. 1425. The actual day and date is Wednesday the 2nd half of the bright half of Śrāvaṇa.

Following is the full text of the plate—

॥ श्रीगणेश प्रसादात् ॥ श्रीरामो जयति ॥ श्रीएकलिंग प्रसादात्

सही

(l. 1) ॥ म्हाराजाधिराज महाराणा जी श्रीमोकलजीं आदेशात् सुत्रधार
(l. 2) मंडन षेताराकस्य थने गुजरात थी वुलायो अठे दरबारमे
(l. 3) सीलप सास्त्र भरायो थको सुत्रधार हो नही जीसु थने गुजरात
(l. 4) थी वुलायो वहोत मेनतसु ने आमरजाद बाद दीदी जोरी
(l, 5) बींगत———————=———————
(l. 6) ————————————————
(l. 7) गाभ १ गुंदाली प्रगणे केलवाडारे कोठार थी पको पेटयो १
(l. 8) दानी चोला थी मास १ प्रत रु० ३०) जनानी डोडी थी बरसोद रो
(l. 9) नामो १
(l. 10) देवरो वावडी तलाव मेल मेलाइत बे जदी रो होम यज्ञ बे जदी
(l. 11) कुंड मंडप वेदो रो वास्तु वरणी रो नेग श्रोविश्व करमा जीरा
(l. 12) पुजनरो नेगरो सराजाम सारो थने मया करदीदो सो थारा
(l, 13) वंशरो सपुत कपुत पल्याजासी यो पुन श्रोजोरो हे अणी मरजाद
(l. 14) री चोलण करेगा कौई मारा वंशरो उथापेगां जीने श्रीम्हा
(l. 15) सत्यारी आण है, दुवे श्रीभुष प्रतदुवे पंचोली लछणसिह
(l. 16) गोरायत स्वदत्ता परदत्ता वा ये हरन्ति वसुन्धरा षष्टि वर्ष सह
(l. 17) स्राणो बिष्टाप्यां जायते कमो लीषता पंचोली चत्रभुजरा
(l, 18) गोदासोत संवत १४८२ रा वर्षे सावण सुद २ वुधे

G. N. Sharma

Two Jain Inscriptions in the Lucknow Museum

Recently I had an occasion to examine the impressions of some stone inscriptions preserved in the U.P. State Museum, Lucknow, which are lying in the office of the Government Epigraphist for India at Ootacamund. These epigraphs were examined and copied by Dr. N. P. Chakravarti nearly two decades ago and were noticed by the same scholar in the *Annual Report of the Archæological Survey of India,* 1936-37, pp. 92f. On an examination of the impressions it was found that Chakravarti's interpretation of at least two of the inscriptions suffers from certain inaccuracies. I am therefore placing my views on the reading and interpretation of these two inscriptions before scholars for their consideration.

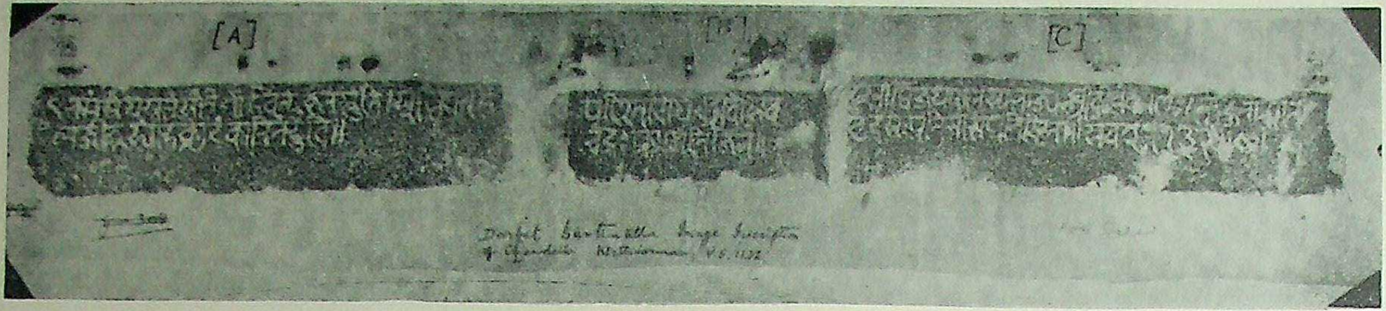
A. *Darbat Śāntinātha Image Inscription of the time of Candella Kīrtivarman V.S. 1132.*

Chakravarti's description of this record runs as follows:—

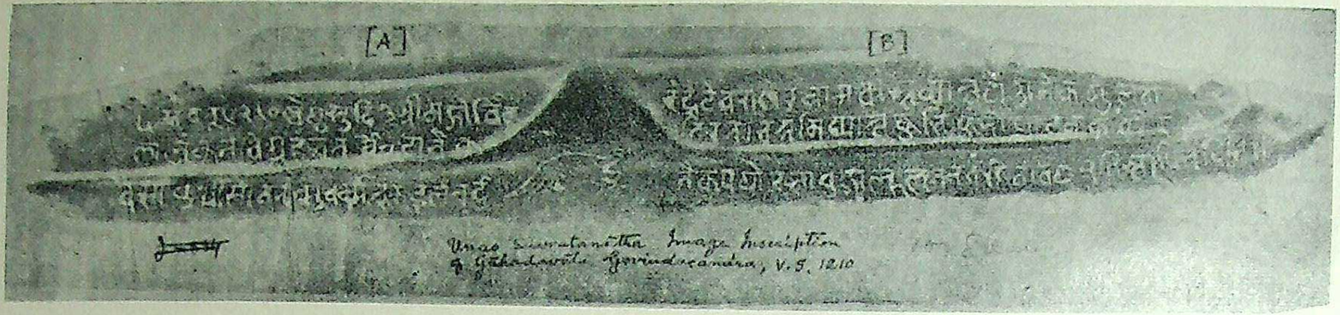
"[It] is found on a marble frieze containing a sitting lion on each side. Apparently the statue once set up on it has now disappeared. The whole record is in three parts. The one to the left records that the image of Śāṃti[nātha] was caused to be made by the merchants Pāhila and Jījū, that in the middle mentions *Paṇḍitācārya* Vāsavacandra and the inscription on the right says that the image was set up by Kīrttidhara in Saṁvat 1132 in the reign of the illustrious Vijayapāla. This ruler is most probably to be identified with the father of Vikramasiṃha of the Dubkund branch of the Kacchapaghāta family for whom we have a record of V. 1145. The Vijayādhirāja of the Bayānā Jaina inscription of V. 1100 has been identified with this Vijayapāla. But if he is a prince of the Sūrasena family whose inscriptions have been found in Bharatpur State, as he seems to be, then the present inscription would be the only record so far known of the Kacchapaghāta Vijayapāla."

While offering the above suggestion, Chakravarti does not appear to have taken note of the findspot of the inscription. I learn from the Curator of the Lucknow Museum that the inscribed stone (No. G. 308) was found in the village of Darbat near Mahoba in the Hamirpur District, U.P. It was presented to the Museum on September 21, 1935, by the Commissioner of the Jhansi Division. About the time of the inscription, viz S.V. 1132 (A.D. 1075) it was the Candellas who held sway over the Jhansi-Hamirpur region, with Mahoba as one of the well-known strongholds. It is therefore highly improbable that the rule of a Kacchapaghāta chief of the Gwalior region was acknowledged in the district round Mahoba about A.D. 1075. Moreover the third section of the inscription does not actually speak of "the reign of the illustrious Vijayapāla" in V.S. 1132 nor of the image being "set up by Kīrttidhara." It really refers to "the reign of the illustrious Kīrttivarman, son of Vijayapāla" and to the setting up of "the image belonging to a group of hereditary ministers" of the king. There can be no doubt that king Kīrttivarman, son of Vijayapāla, is the wellknown Candella monarch flourishing in the second half of the eleventh century. The only epigraphs of Candella Kīrttivarman, son of king Vijayapāla, so far known, are the Deogarh rock inscription (*Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XVIII, pp. 237-39) of V.S. 1154 (A.D. 1098) and the Kālañjar inscription of V.S. 1147 (1090 A.D.), noticed by Chakravarti (*op. cit.*, p. 93), although the fact (cf. Ray, *DHNI.*, pp. 698 ff.) that he vanquished the Kalacuri king Karṇa (*circa* A.D. 1041-71) suggests that his accession took place before 1071 A.D. long before the dates of these records. The Darbat inscription under discussion, bearing the date V. S. 1132 (A. D. 1075) which is twenty-two years earlier than the date of the Deogarh epigraph, no doubt, goes in favour of the suggestion referred to above.

The three sections of the inscription, i.e. the left, middle and right portions, are each written in two lines. We shall refer to them as A, B and C Sections. A begins with the symbol for *Siddham* which is followed by a verse in the Anuṣṭubh metre. The stanza means to say that an image (*rūpa*) of Śāṁti (i.e. the Jain Tīrthāṅkara Śāntinātha) was caused to be made by the Śreṣṭhins Pāhila and Jījū out of their devotion to the deity. The image is described as 'causing prosperity' (*śreyaskara*) and the deity as one who has been eulogised by Vāsavendu apparently meaning the Jain teacher Vāsavacandra who is mentioned in Section B and was very probably the preceptor of Pāhila and Jījū. It is possible to think that this Jain teacher was responsible for the composition of the record. Section B, which is in prose, says: "*Paṇḍitācārya* śrī-Vāsavacandra bows down to the Jina (i.e. the image of Śāntinātha)." Section C contains a second stanza in the Anuṣṭubh metre, which is followed by the date of the record, viz. V. S. 1132. This verse means to say that in the kingdom or during the sovereignty of the illustrious


[A]
[B]
[C]
Darbat Santinatha Image Inscription
of Chandella Kirttivarman V.S. 1132

Darbat Inscription of the time of Kirttivarman; V.S. 1132


[A]
[B]
Unao Santinatha Image Inscription
of Gahadavala Govindacandra, V.S. 1210

Unao Inscription of the time of Govindacandra; V.S. 1210

IHQ., JUNE, 1954

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Kīrttivarman, son of Vijayapāla, the image (i.e. the image of Śāntinātha) belonging to the king's *kul-āmātya-vṛnda* (i.e. a group of hereditary ministers) was installed. There is little doubt that the Jain *Śreṣṭhins*, viz. Pāhila and Jījū, who caused the image to be made, were ministers of the Candella king Kīrttivarman. The inscription therefore not only offers an important date but discloses the names of two of the hereditary Jain officers of the Candella king. Of the two officers, Pāhila may be identical with Pāhilla of the Grahapati family, who was the son of *Śreṣṭhin* Dedū, the father of *Sādhu* Sālhe and the grandfather of Mahāgaṇa and others and is known from the Khajuraho Jain image inscription (*Ep. Ind.*, vol. I, p. 151) of V. S. 1215 (A. D. 1158).

TEXT[1]

[A] 1 Siddham[2] Ru(Rū)paṁ sre(śre)yaskaraṁ Sāṁ(Śāṁ)ter=vVāsavendu-kṛta-stuti(teḥ) | sre(śre)ṣṭhi-Pāhi-
2 la-Jījūbhyāṁ bhakty=edaṁ kāritaṁ bhuvi ||

[B] 1 Paṇḍitācārya-śrī-Vāsava-
2 caṁdraḥ praṇamati Jinaṁ(nam) ||

[C] 1 Sūnor=vVijayapālasya rājye śrī-Kīrttivarmaṇaḥ / tat-kul-āmātya-
2 vṛṁdasya pratimā saṁpratiṣṭi(ṣṭhi)tā || Saṁvat 1132 || o || ||

B. *Unao Suvratanātha Image Inscription of the time of Gāhaḍavāla Govindacandra V.S. 1210*

The Curator of the Lucknow Museum kindly informed me that this image (No. J. 884) was found in course of the construction of a road in the old Fort Mound at Unao which lies on the road between Kawnpur and Lucknow, nine miles to the north-east of the former and forty-three miles to the south-west of the latter. It is stated to have been sent to the Museum by the District Magistrate of Unao in 1891-92. The Curator also informed me that the inscription is referred to in the *N.W.P. and Oudh Provincial Museum Minutes*, vol. IV, Plate 57, Appendix A, although the book unfortunately was not available to me.

Chakravarti describes the inscription in the following words: "The second record containing the name of a ruling prince is found on the pedestal of an image of Sumatinātha, the 20th Tīrthaṅkara. It is dated Saṁvat 1210 Jyeṣṭha-sudi 3 in the reign of the illustrious Govindacandradeva (of the Gāhaḍavāla dynasty of Kanauj) and records the establishment of the image by Durlabhacaṁdra, the son of *Sādhu* Sona of the Vāstavya family, and by Sādhu Jālhala" (*loc. cit.*). In this description I find a few minor inaccuracies. In the first place, the Jain Tīrthaṅkara represented by the image is Suvratanātha whose symbol is a tortoise and not Sumatinātha whose symbol is a curlew or a red goose (cf. Bhattacharya, *Jain Iconography*, pp. 57 ff., 78 ff.). The tortoise symbol on the pedestal is clear on the impression of the inscription between its two sections which may be marked A and B for the sake of convenience. Secondly, the image seems to have been set up by *Sādhu* Jālhala(ṇa) who was apparently the son of *Sādhu* Sona. I am inclined to take the name of the person responsible for the installation of the image as Jālhaṇa not only because this is a familiar name (which Jālhala is not) but also because the inscription does not make any difference between the forms of *ṇ* and *l*. Thirdly, it is not clear that *Sādhu* Sona belonged to a Vāstavya family. The passage, occurring in his description, is *Uvāma-vāstavy-ānvaye*. I learn from Dr. Satya Prakash Srivastava that there is no community of the Vāstavyas called Uvāma. He therefore thinks that the family to which *Sādhu* Sona belonged hailed from a locality called Uvāma. If this suggestion is acceptable, *Sādhu* Sona may not have belonged to a Vāstavya family. It is again doubtful if *Sādhu* (i.e. a merchant) would be a suitable designation of the members of a Vāstavya Kāyastha family.

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[1] From impressions.

[2] Expressed by symbol.

The corrupt passage in which Chakravati finds the name of Durlabhacaṁdra in line 3 of the inscription runs as follows: *sādhu śrī-Sona tatsu(at*) dharmmabhūruirla*(or *rṇa)vard[dh]anaikapaypda sādhu-Jālhala(ṇa)*. It will be seen that the word *Sādhu* is conspicuous by its absence before what looks like *irla*(or *rṇa)vard[dh]a* and has been taken to indicate the personal name *Durlabhacandra*. It appears to me that whatever be the intended reading of the passage between the mention of *Sādhu* Sona and *Sādhu* Jālhaṇa, it stands for an epithet of the following name of Jālhaṇa. One has to notice that several high-sounding epithets have been used by the author of the record in the description of *Sādhu* Sona as well. Thus he is said to have been *aneka-gula-*

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(*ṇa)-gal-ā(ṇ-ā)laṁkṛta-vigraha*, *caturve(rvi)dha-dān-aika-nirata* and *citta-mithyātva-kuṁbhi-kumbh-otpāṭana-kaṁṭhīrava*. The three epithets quoted above say respectively that *Sādhu* Sona had his body adorned with a multitude of various qualities, that he was solely engaged in the four kinds of charity (i.e. those styled *nitya, naimittike, kāmya* and *vimala*) and that he was a lion in tearing out the frontal globe of the elephant that is the untruth in thought. These bombasts in the description of the father lead me to think that the intended reading for the passage *dharmmabhūruirla*(or *rṇa*)*vard*[*dh*]*anaikapayoda* may be *dharma-bhūruhāṇāṁ varddhana-aika-payodaḥ*. What the author means to say seems to be that *Sādhu* Jālhaṇa, son of *Sādhu* Sona, was the unique cloud that watered and nourished the trees which were the acts of righteousness.

The concluding part of the inscription in line 3 reads *tanakaṁ Jina-v*[*iṁvya*] *pratiṣṭhāpitaditi*. In correct Sanskrit, it would be *svakīyaṁ Jina-bimbaṁ pratiṣṭhāpitam = iti*. But in that case we should have *Sādhu-Jālhaṇena* instead of *Sādhu-Jālhaṇa*(*ḥ**) which, as it is, would require *svakīyaṁ Jina-bimbaṁ pratiṣṭhāpayat = īti*.

No special value attaches to the date of the inscription, viz. V.S. 1210 (A.D. 1153), as we have epigraphic records (cf. Bhandarkar's List, p. 386) of the Gāhaḍavāla king Govindacandra with dates ranging from V.S. 1171 (A.D. 1114) to V.S. 1211 (A.D. 1154).

We have said above that Uvāma mentioned in the inscription may have been the name of a locality; but we cannot suggest any satisfactory identification of the place. Can it be Unao itself?

TEXT[1]

1 [A] Siddham[2] Saṁvatū[3] 1210 Jyeṣṭha-sudi 3 śrīmad-Goviṁda-
[B] caṁdrate(de)va-rājye Uvāma-vāstavy-ānvaye aneka-gula(ṇa)-
ga-
2 [A] lā(ṇ-ā)laṁkṛta-vigraha(ḥ*) caturve(rvi)dha-dānaika-
[B] nirata(ḥ*) cittamithyātva-kuṁbhi-kumbh-otpāṭana-
kaṁṭhīra-

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[1] From impressions.
[2] Expressed by symbol.
[3] Read *Saṁvat*.

3 [A] va(ḥ*) Sādhu-Sona(ḥ*) tat-su(taḥ*) dharmma-bhūruirla-[4]
vard[dh]a-
[B] n-aika-payoda(ḥ*) Sādhu-Jālhala(ṇaḥ) tanakaṁ[5]
Jina-v[imvya][6] pratiṣṭhāpitad=iti[7]||

D. C. SIRKAR

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[4] The *akṣara rla* can also be read as *rṇa*. The reading intended may be *bhūrubāṇāṁ*.

[5] This seems to be the Sankritised form of a word of a local dialect. Or was the intended reading *Jālhaṇaḥ tena śrī-Jinabimbaṁ pratiṣṭhāpitam=iti?*

[6] Read *bimbaṁ*.

[7] Read *pratisthāpayat=iti*.

A note on सीदत सावद्य चेदिः

(Khajurāho Inscription of V.S. 1011).[1]

The inscriptions of the Kalacuris and the Candellas throw light on their mutual relations at different stages of their history. In the Khajurāho inscription of Candella Yaśovarman dated V.S. 1011 mention is made of a severe defeat inflicted by him on the Kalacuris. Verse 28[2] of the inscription says that the Cedi king, whose forces were countless, was conquered by Yaśovarman (saṃkhye-saṁkhya-balaṃ vyajeṣṭha gatabhiryaś-Cedirājaṁ haṭhāt). In another place of the same inscription also (verse 23), where other expeditions of Yaśovarman are mentioned, there is an allusion to his victory over the Cedis. No doubt the same episode has thus been referred to in these different parts of the record. It is in verse 23 that the phrase 'sīdat sāvadya Cediḥ' occurs in connection with the Candella expedition against the Cedis. The intrinsic significance of the term 'sāvadya', which means 'one liable to condemnation', as applied to the Cedi king, has not been explained in the inscription itself. But with the help of other contemporary inscriptions, which refer to the history of the Kalacuris, an attempt may be made to explain why this epithet has been used in a rec of the victorious Candella ruler, Yaśovarman against the defeated king.

The attitude of the Candellas towards the Kalacuris in the tin of Yaśovarman, as shown by the use of this expression, was strikingly different from what it had been in the earlier period. It may be remembered that Yaśovarman's father, Harṣa, along with three other rulers including Bhoja II of the Pratihāra dynasty and Vallabharāja (i.e. Rāṣṭrakūṭa Kṛṣṇa II), had been granted freedom from fear by the Kalacuri king Kokkalla (c. 875-925 A.D.) as recorded in the Benares Grant of Karṇa.

> Bhoje Vallabharāje Śrī-Harṣe Citrakūṭa-bhūpāle
> Śaṁkaragaṇe ca rājani yasyāsīd-abhayadaḥ pāṇiḥ//v.7.[3]

It seems that Kokkalla assured Harṣa of his intention not to injure the interests of the Candellas and at the same time to secure indirectly protection for them by allying himself both with the Gurjara-Pratihāras

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1 *Epigraphia Indica*, vol I, pp. 126, 132.
2 *Ibid.*, pp. 127, 132.
3 *Ibid.*, vol II, p. 306.

and the Rāṣṭrakūṭas, who had been bitterly opposed to each other for a long period.

An additional indication of the friendly relations between the Kalacuris and the Candellas during this time is furnished by the same record which refers to the marriage of Kokkalla with a Candella princess, Naṭṭā or Naṭṭākhyadevī. The Kalacuris appreciate this marriage as an ideal one like the celestial unions of Śacī with Indra, Kamalā with Upendra and Umā with Candramaulī.

> Sacimivendraḥ Kamalāmupendro Nagendra-kanyām-iva Candramaulīḥ/
> Candella-vasa (vaṁśa) prabhavā susilā (suśīlā) Naṭṭākhyadevī sa tu parjjanaiṣit//v.8.[4]

Although there is no reference to the early relations of the Candellas with the Kalacuris in the records of the former prior to the time of Yaśovarman, it seems highly probable in view of the evidence of Kalacuri epigraphy, that such relations were quite friendly. But when in a record of Yaśovarman's reign the Kalacuris are spoken of with evident contempt, as in the inscription already referred to, it definitely means that not only the Candellas were now hostile to the latter, but that there were some special reasons for their being provoked against the Kalacuris.

The Candellas were no doubt emboldened to proceed against the Kalacuris during the time of Yaśovarman, relying on their increased power due to their effective intervention in the affairs of Kanauj, which secured the accession of Kṣitipāla,[5] to their matrimonial alliance with the Cāhamānas[6], and to some conquests which must have already been achieved by the Candellas as the Khajurāho inscription mentions.

The aggressive policy in this new situation can be well understood. But the question is: why did they use the term 'sāvadya' while mentioning their enemy, the Kalacuris?

The policy of friendship pursued by the Kalacuris, as shown in a verse of the Benares Grant, already alluded to, and in another verse in the Bilhari inscription[7], was subsequently changed. They became more and more definitely attached to the Rāṣṭrakūṭas, thus allying themselves with a power which had aggressive intentions in the north.

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[4] *Ibid.*

[5] Punar-yena Śri Kṣitipāladeva nṛpatiḥ siṁhāsane sthā(pitaḥ) 1. 10. Khajurāho Inscription No. 1. *EI.*, vol. I, p. 122.

[6] Sonurūpāṁ surūpāṅgaḥ Kañcukākhyām-akuṇṭhadhiḥ/
savarṇṇāṁ-vidhirovāha Cāhamāna-kulodbhavāṁ//v. 21. EI., vol. I. p. 126.
It refers to Harṣa's marriage with Kañcukā of Cāhamāna family.

There was a series of political marriages between the Rāṣṭrakūṭas and the Kalacuris: —

(i) Kṛṣṇa II married the younger sister of Saṅkuka (Saṅkaragaṇa), a daughter of Kokkalla I[8].

(ii) Jagattuṅgadeva, son of Kṛṣṇa II, married Lakṣmī[9] and Govindāmbā[10], both daughters of Saṅkaragaṇa, son of Kokkalla.

(iii) Indra III married Vījāmbā, grand-daughter of Arjuna, another son of Kokkalla[11].

It will appear from the above that in every case the bride came from the Kalacuri family. This may suggest admission of an inferior status by the Kalacuris in their relations with the Rāṣṭrakūṭas[12]. This policy of courting favour of the Rāṣṭrakūṭas could not have been liked by the North Indian powers. It was definitely against their interests, as strategically the Kalacuri dominion might be used as a spring-board of Rāṣṭrakūṭa attacks against them. They also lowered themselves in the estimation of those powers whose interests were linked up with the political fortunes of Northern India, particularly the Candellas.

The Rāṣṭrakūṭa invasions of the early 10th century A.D. dealt a severe blow to the Gurjara Pratihāra power. In some of their campaigns the Rāṣṭrakūṭas seem to have received actual help from the

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[7] Jitvā kṛtsnāṁ yena pṛthvīmapūrvaṁ-kirttistambha-dvandramāropyate sma/, Kaumbhodbhavyān-diśyasau Kṛṣṇarājaḥ Kauveryāñca śrinidhir-Bhojadevaḥ//v. 17. .*EI.*, vol. I. p. 256.

[8] Śrī Haihayānāṁ kule Kokkallaś-samabhūcca tasya tanayā yā Saṅkukasyānujā/ tasyāṁ Kṛṣṇa-nṛpāt tataḥ srita mahādevi padāyām abhūt. *Indian Antiquary*, vol. XII, p. 265. An almost identical reference to Kṛṣṇa's marriage to a girl of the Cāhamana dynasty *Ibid.*, *IA.*, vol. XII, p. 250.

[9] Cediśvara Saṁkaragaṇa-duhitari Lakṣmyāṁ-tato-Jagattuṅgāt sūnur-abhūd... *IA.*, vol. XII. p. 265; a similar reference in p. 250.

[10] Cedyām-mātula-Saṁkaragaṇ-ātmajāyāṁ abhūj-Jagattuṅgāt Śrīmān Amoghavarṣo Gobindāmbābhidhānāyāṁ...1, 20. *IA.*, vol XII, p. 265.

[11] Ll. 21-22. *Ibid.*, p. 265.

[12] Ref. 'kanyopāyanadāna' in the Allahabad Pillar Inscription of Samudragupta (*Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum*, vol. III. p. 8), meaning 'presents of daughters' to the suzerain ruler by vassal kings.

Kalacuris, who are mentioned in the Āmodā Plate[13], as having carried on plunderous raids on a number of territories including that of the Gurjaras.

The Candellas themselves could not but regard their attachment to the Rāṣṭrakūṭas as hostile to their own interest. The establishment of Rāṣṭrakūṭa authority in Kālañjar[14], however temporary it might be, was possibly facilitated by this alliance. The subsequent occupation of Kālañjar by Yaśovarman[15] marked the turning point of the fortunes of the family. If Kālañjar was conquered from the Rāṣṭrakūṭas, the Candellas must have regarded them as their enemy. Association with their enemy on the part of the Kalacuris must have caused irritation to the Candellas particularly, because the Kalacuris, compared with the Rāṣṭrakūṭas, were a weaker power, and as such might have appeared as depending on the patronage of the Rāṣṭrakūṭas[16]. In the circumstances it was quite natural for the Candellas to have described the Kalacuris as 'sāvadya'.

SISIR KUMAR MITRA

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[13] *El.*, vol. XIX, pp. 75, 78.

[14] Karhād Plates of Kṛṣṇa III. *El.*, vol. IV, pp. 284, 289.
Yasya paruṣekṣitākhila dakṣiṇa-dig-durgga vijayamākarṇya/,
galitā Gurjjara-hṛdayāt-Kālañjara-Citrakūṭ-āśā//v. 30

[15] *El.*, vol. I, pp. 127-8, 133. Jagrāha krīḍayā......Kālañjarādriṁ/v. 31.

[16] A similar attitude was expressed by Nāgabhaṭa II against Cakrāyudha for his 'lowly demeanour' in acting as a protege of the Pāla king, Dharmapāla.

'Jitvā parāśrayakṛta-sphūṭa-nīcabhāvaḥ'. . v. 9. Sāgartal (Gwālior) Inscription of Bhoja. *El.*, vol. XVIII, p. 99.

New Light on the Early Rāṣṭrakūṭa House

The aim of this note is to give publicity to the discovery of a new Rāṣṭrakūṭa record, which throws welcome light on the early history of the house. It was found at Indragarh, the ancient site of the town of Bhānpurā in Madhya Bhārat, which is about 13 miles south-west of the Station of Jhālāwār Road, between Ratlām and Koṭāh, on the main line of the Western Railway. The site, which lies about two miles north-east of Bhānpurā and close to the foot of an extensive table-land called *Paṭhār* in the Vindhya hills, is rich in archæological remains, like sculptures and vestiges of old habitations and fortification walls. It shows ample signs of having been at one time a thickly populated locality; and the adjacent table-land too is not only picturesque but also thickly studded with numerous ancient remains discovered at the localities of Nāvlī, Kethūlī, Takṣakeshwar, Hiṅglājgarh, Chainpur and many others.

The present record, which is engraved on stone and consists of 18 lines of writing, each of which measures 2′ 5.5″ long except the last one which measures only 2′ 5″ long, is of great importance in revealing the early history of the main Rāṣṭrakūṭa house. It was discovered by Shri Vimal Kumār Chordiā, M. L. A., Madhya Bhārat, who sent an ink-impression of it to Dr. Bool Chand, Secretary to the Government of the same State in the Education Department, through whose kindness I was able to obtain it for my study. The impression was too indistinct and faint to allow complete restoration of some of the portions; but fortunately I was able to make out the historical portion, which enabled me to publish a preliminary notice of the record, which is done here. It will be edited in due course when a fresh impression is available.

The inscription records the construction of a temple of Śambhu by a sage during the reign of Nanna of the Rāṣṭrakūṭa house, in the Mālava Saṁvat 767, which is equivalent to 711-2 A.D. Here it is interesting to note that the record was composed by a resident of Gauḍadeśa, whose name is unfortunately lost but whose father's name is mentioned as Śaṅkara.

The relevant portion of the record, which alone we are to consider here, runs as follows[1] : —

यस्मिन्दृष्टेऽरिवृन्दं घटितगजघटैर्योद्धुमप्याहवेषु
क्षिप्रं याति प्रयाणं…………सञ्चितं चाभिमानम् ।

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[1] With the changes of *mātrās*, *anusvāras* etc. as required in reproducing them.

भास्वानस्य प्रसूतिः प्रकटितयशसो राष्ट्रकूटान्वयस्य
श्रीणण्णाख्यः स राजा जयति निजगुणैरज्जिताशेषलोकः
सप्तषष्ट्यधिके याते वर्षाणां शतसप्तकैः ।
मालवानां नरेन्द्राणां पृथिव्यां प्रथितात्मनाम् ॥
हंसकारण्डवक्रौञ्चनिनादसुभगेऽनिले ।
काले शरदि सम्प्राप्ते कृतं देवालयं त्विदम् ॥

The pedigree of our Naṇṇa, in whose reign the temple was constructed, is not mentioned in the record, but since he is stated to have belonged to the Rāṣṭrakūṭa lineage, it is possible to identify him with the ruler of the same name who issued the Tivarkheḍ and the Multāī plates, according to which his father, grandfather and great-grandfather were Svāmikarāja, Govindarāja and Durgarāja respectively[2]. But the dates of these plates are far removed in time, that of the former being Śaka 553 or 631-2 A. D., and that of the latter being Śaka 631 or 709-10 A. D.; and this would lead us to assume that Nannarāja had a long reign of at least 78 years. Noticing that the Tiverkheḍ plates are full of inaccuracies, D. R. Bhandarkar has suggested that 553 was possibly a mistake for 653, and if we take the latter to be correct, this would shorten the reign of the prince to a reasonable period of 22 years[3]. But on the other hand, Dr. A. S. Altekar is inclined to hold that the year of the Multāī plates may not be genuine[4]. The present record, which was composed only two years later than the Multāī plates, however, goes to support Bhandarkar's suggestion, showing that Nannarāja was living in 711-2 A. D. Thus in view of this new finding, the whole chronology of the earlier members of the Rāṣṭrakūṭa house, as proposed for the first time by Dr. Altekar,[5] deserves to be reconsidered.

Another important point revealed by the present record is with reference to the extent of the dominions of Nannarāja. We know him ruling somewhere in Berar, probably with his capital at Elichpur,[6] which is not far from Tiverkheḍ and Multāī, the find-spots of his plate-inscriptions. The present record, however, supplements our knowledge by showing that the territory around Bhānpurā, which is about 250 miles north by west from Elichpur, was also included in his dominions, which does not seem to be impossible, considering that he was the first member of the house to win the *pañcamahāśabdas*[7]. But while extending his sway in that direction he must naturally have come in contact with the contemporary Rāṣṭrakūṭa prince who was then ruling in the Mhow-Hoshangabad district with his capital at Mānpur, which lies about half way between Elichpur and Bhānpurā. The existence of this prince is revealed by an undated grant, which, on palaeographic grounds has been assigned to the seventh century A. D.; and examining all circumstantial evidences, Dr. Altekar has concluded that the house to which he belonged may have been connected by blood-relationship with that of the main Rāṣṭrakūṭa house in which Dantidurga was born[8]. But even assuming that the two houses were thus connected, it is natural that Abhimanyu of the Mānpur house, who is presumed to be a contemporary of Nannarāja and whose kingdom lay to his immediate north,[9] would not have allowed the latter to extend his territories to the immediate north of his own. We are thus forced to presume that either the Mānpur house of the Rāṣṭrakūṭas may have naturally come to an end some time before the present record was engraved, or it may have been completely overthrown by Nannarāja, who had extended his sway still further to the north and at least up to the tract around Bhānpurā where the present inscription has been found.

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[2] *EI.*, XI, pp. 276 ff. and *I.A.*, XVIII, pp. 230 ff. respectively.

[3] See his List of Inscriptions of N. Ind., appx. to *EI.*, XX, p. 145, n. 1.

[4] *Rāṣṭrakūṭas and Their Times*, p. 7.

[5] *Ibid.*, p. 10.

[6] *Ibid.*, p. 9.

H. V. Trivedi

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[7] As he claims in the Tiverkheḍ record.

[8] *Rāṣṭrakūṭas and Their Times*, p. 6.

[9] *Ibid.*

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Varṣakriyākaumudī and Kāśīrāma

Varṣakriyākaumudī is a Smṛti digest by Govindānanda (16th century) which deals with feasts and festivities performed on particular days of the year[1]. There are references to, and quotations from, it made by Kāśīrāma in his commentary on the *Tithitattva* of Raghunandana, a work which also treats of the same subject as the *Varṣa*°. These are indications of the position occupied by the work in the estimation of the successors of Govindānanda. This work published more than half a century back, like many other works of the type, has not so far been subjected to a thorough critical and analytic study, though it contains valuable material for the reconstruction of the social and cultural history of Bengal.

The work is divided into several sections and sub-sections. Only a few of these have introductory or concluding verses (e.g., एकादशीव्यवस्था—p. 42, ग्रहण—p. 90, त्रिविधपूजाविधि—p. 204, संक्रान्ति—p. 204, दुर्गोत्सव—p. 365, 449) while most of the other sections have introductory remarks justifying their inclusion in the book. The last section called *Prakīrṇaka* has nothing of the sort. And it has little connection with the subject-matter proper of the work. It may not unlikely be spurious.

The bold and critical attitude of the work deserves special mention. It refuses to accept every statement attributed to a Purāṇa or Dharmaśāstra work as genuine and every custom as sanctioned by the Śāstras. He declares as spurious citations found in earlier works like *Kālaviveka*[2].

Even if some citations which appear to be spurious are accepted as genuine he is ready with his interpretations for them[3].

Occasionally he justifies some doubtful citations on the ground that they are referred to by many authors or are traced in their alleged sources[4].

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[1] Vide *Viśvavidyāsaṃgraha* (Viśvabhāratī publication).

[2] इति नामशून्यवचनं कालविवेके लिखितं तदप्यमूलमेव—p. 60 ; पूर्वोक्तविधानेनेति वचनम् अमूलमेव—p. 62 ; तदमूलकमेव सर्वप्रामाणिकसंग्रहेष्वदृष्टत्वात्—p. 73 ; इति नामशून्यवचनं केनचिल्लिखितं तन्मैथिलादिनिबन्धेष्वदर्शनान्निर्मूलमेव—p, 371 ; इति नामशून्यवचनं केनापि लिखितं तदमूलम्—p. 374.

[3] कालविवेके कृत्यतत्त्वार्णवे च भविष्यपुराणनाम्ना वचनं लिखितं···यद्येतत् साकरं स्यात्—p. 52 ; इति देवलनाम्ना वचनं तद् यदि समूलं स्यात्—p. 62 ; इति नामशून्यं वचनं यदि साकरं स्यात् तदायमर्थः—p. 309 ; शिष्टाचारोपष्टम्भकसमूलत्वाभिमाने तु—p. 371 ; समूलत्वेऽपि प्रभूतबलिदाननिषेधकं मन्तव्यम् ।

As regards the *vratas* and worship of different deities he declares some as local customs and some as unauthoritative having no Śāstric sanction[5].

It is interesting to note that it has not dealt with a number of rites as they involve a good deal of complications or entail enormous expenditure[6]. Still it is not in favour of the moderners who would go against old practices[7].

Kāśīrāma Vācaspati, the well-known commentator, who commented on the works of Raghunandana, refers to, and quotes from, the *Varṣakriyākaumudī* either by name or by not mentioning the name. Occasionally he mentions the name *Kaumudī*. Of quotations with this name, reference may be made to the following[8]:—

A summary of the procedure of *pūjā* on the occasion of the Rāmanavamī (*Varṣa°*, p. 526f—*Kāśī*[8], p. 278).

A few lines from the Janmāṣṭamī (*Varṣa°*, p. 301—*Kāśī*, p. 207, 213).

Two interpretations in connection with *māghasaptamī* (*Varṣa°*, p. 499—*Kāśī.*, p. 183; *Varṣa°*, p. 500—*Kāśī*, p. 194).

In quotations without the name of the text reference is made to the work as 'another work'[9] and to the author as the 'old people'[10]. There is a long quotation in the Rāmanavamī section (*Varṣa*°, p. 523ff.—*Kāśī.*, p. 273 ff.) which ends with the note 'they say' (इत्याहुः).

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[4] न चात्र सन्दिग्धमूलत्वाशङ्का कल्पतरुशूलपाणिप्रभृतिभिर्लिखितत्वात्—p. 51 ; न चास्य सन्दिग्धमूलत्वाशङ्का मदनपारिजातकालविवेकस्मृतिसमुच्चयादिभिर्लिखितत्वात्—p. 61 ; न चैषां वचनानामनाकरत्वाशङ्का ब्रह्मपुराणाग्निपुराणयोर्दृष्टत्वात् संवत्सरप्रदीपाद्यनेकसंग्रहेषु लिखितत्वाच्च—p. 231.

[5] गौडीयास्तु अष्टमीनवमीसन्धौ चामुण्डारूपं ध्यात्वा उपचारैरभ्यर्च्य बलिदानं कुर्वन्तीति देशाचारः—p. 373 ; सरस्वतीपूजा अनध्यायश्चात्र गौडाचारः—p. 498 ; अत्र श्रीपञ्चम्यामारभ्य प्रतिमासं षडब्दसमाप्यं श्रीपञ्चमीव्रतं कुर्वन्ति।...एतस्य मूलं न दृष्टमित्युपेक्षितम्...p. 499. Compare also the remark on *Lakṣmivrata* at p. 319.

[6] मत्स्यपुराणोक्तप्रतीकारस्तु प्रक्रियागौरवाद् बहुद्रव्यसाध्यत्वाच्च नोक्तः—p. 117 ; अत्र शुक्लतृतीयायां रम्भातृतीयाव्रतं संवत्सरसाध्यं प्रतिमासं बहुप्रक्रियमित्युपेक्षितम्—p. 482.

[7] सर्वशिष्टैरङ्गीकृतं सर्वदेशेषु पारम्पर्यक्रमागतमाचारमुन्मूलयितुमिच्छतामाधुनिकानां वचसि नादरः कार्यः—p. 486.

[8] References are to the edition of Nilakamal Vidyanidhi (Calcutta, 1304 B.S.).

Of particular interest are the quotations without any remark or acknowledgment of any type amounting to plagiarism. It is noticed that almost the entire section dealing with general rites on particular *tithis* (*Varṣa*°, p. 28ff.) is quoted by Kāśīrāma in this manner. His commentary on different portions of the *Tithitattva* dealing with different *tithis* is prefaced by insertions of identical portions from the *Varṣakriyākaumudī*, with minor omissions here and there[11].

An excuse is offered for a long omission from the *caturthī* portion[12]. The insertions are usually introduced by expressions like तत्र सामान्यतः प्रतिपत्कृत्य' *mutatis mutandis* and in the portion on *Saptamī* it is concluded by the statement प्रकृतम् अनुसरामः (we proceed to the topic proper). It is difficult to account for this unusual silence of Kāśīrāma with regard to the source of these quotations from a work which he refers to in different places of his work.[13]

CHINTAHARAN CHAKRAVARTI

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[9] अथ ग्रन्थान्तरात् मनसापूजाविधिर्लिख्यते (*Kāśi*, p. 165—*Varṣa*°, p. 295ff.).

[10] A portion of the Durgāpūjā section is quoted (*Kāśi.*, 325f.—*Varṣa*°, p. 368f.) with the remark प्राञ्चस्तु. Portions of the Daśaharā section (*Varṣa*° p. 279—*Kāśi.*, p. 280) are introduced with the words प्राचां मते विशेषस्तु and concluded with इति प्राचीनग्रन्थानुसारादनुसन्धेया ।

[11] I could compare as far as the portion on *daśamī* up to which the commentary goes in the edition consulted by me.

[12] अङ्गारकचतुर्थीव्रतादिकं तु ग्रन्थगौरवभिया न लिखितम् (p. 157).

[13] References to the *Varṣakriyākaumudī* are based on the Bibliotheca Indica edition of the work.

Select Contents of Oriental Journals

Adyar Library Bulletin, vol. XVIII, pt. 1-2

Louis Renou—*The Dhvani in Sanskrit Poetics.* According to the theory of Dhvani, the essence of poetry is its suggestive import. A critical appreciation of the fundamentals of the theory is recorded in this account.

P. K. Gode.—*Rāmacandra Bhaṭṭa, a Protégé of King Pahārasiṃhadeva, son of King Vīrasiṃhadeva of Bundelkhanda, and his Commentary on the Tenth Skandha of the Bhāgavata (composed in A.D. 1632).*

C. Kunhan Raja.—*Old Persian Inscriptions.* The language of the Old Persian inscriptions in cuneiform script is very analogous to Sanskrit in vocabulary and grammar. An inscription of Darius at Naqsh e Rustom, praising the king's sense of justice and referring to his various achievements, has been rendered here into English as well as into Sanskrit.

N. Aiyaswami Sastri.—*Some Abhidharma Problems.* Important topics of the Abhidharma Philosophy of the Sarvāstivāda school of Buddhism are discussed under the following headings: Vedanā, Saṃjñā and Saṃskāra; Order of Skanadhas; Skandha, Āyatana and Dhātu interpreted; Three Resisting Capacities, Pratigha; Bhūta, Bhautika, Citta and Caitasika; Rūpadhātu bereft of odour, taste and consciousness.

A. G. Krishna Warrier.—*The Tripurā Upaniṣad.* The Śākta Upaniṣad of the Goddess Tripurā has been translated into English with Notes based on the commentary of Śrī Upaniṣad Brahmayogin.

Alain Danielou.—*The Meaning of Gaṇapati.* The word *Gaṇa* denotes the Principle of Number, which is the basis underlying existence. Gaṇapati is the supreme ruler of all that exists. The tusk, trunk and every other peculiar limb of this Purāṇic Divinity have been given in the paper a symbolical interpretation. The story of Gaṇapati's birth is reproduced here from the *Brahmavaivartapurāṇa.*

Archiv Orientalni, vol. XXII (1954)

A. JANACEK.—*The Voluntaristic Type of Yoga in Patañjali's Yogasūtras*. An analysis of the diverse contents of the *Yogasūtras* points out in them tenets of several schools of Yoga. But certain items in the *Sūtras* like the treatment of distractions of the mind (*citta-vikṣepas*) and the methods for their removal lay special emphasis on efforts that are 'voluntaristic' rather than intellectual.

VINCENC PORIZKA.—*Notes on R. N. Vale's Theory of Verbal Composition in Hindi, Bengali, Gujarati and Maraṭhī*. The theory is criticized with the conclusion that the chief modern NIA languages, Hindi, Bengali, Gujarati and Maraṭhī, "do not favour forming verbal bases by composition".

Journal of the Bihar Reserch Society, vol. XL, pt. I

YOGENDRA MISHRA.—*Bihar in Agnipurāṇa*. A few chapters in the *Agnipurāṇa* dealing with places of pilgrimage like Gayā and Rājagṛha furnish materials for the cultural and geographical history of ancient Bihar.

D. C. SIRCAR.—*A Supplementary Note on the Barli Inscription*. A fragmentary Brahmi inscription from Barli in Rajasthan was re-edited by the writer of the present Note in an earlier issue of the Journal. The epigraph was read as referring to a gift of eighty-four pillars for a building in a religious establishment. No line, it was asserted, has any mention of the name of the Jain Tirthaṃkara Mahāvīra, nor the number 84 has anything to do with the Jain Nirvāṇa era. It is now pointed out that a religious structure with 84 pillars is not uncommon in history. It is also suggested the number may have reference to a geographical unit of 84 villages of which the village of Barli formed a constituent.

STANISLAW F. MICHALSKI.—*Zodiacal Light in the Ṛgveda*. The god Savitṛ in the *Ṛgveda* is associated with the night. Depicted as heralding the dawn and sun-rise, the god represents the celestial phenomenon of the zodiacal light.

HARI KISHORE PRASAD.—*Puṣyamitra Suṅga and the Buddhists*. In the absence of authentic historical materials indicating that the Suṅga Puṣyamitra was a persecutor of Buddhism, the dubious evidence found in the *Divyāvadāna*, *Mañjuśrīmūlakalpa* and

Tāranātha's *'History'* proves little, specially because there is no certainty whether the anti-Buddhist 'Puṣyamitra' referred to in those works really points to the Śuṅga ruler.

Ram Sharan Sharma.—*Caste and Marriage in Ancient India (C. 600 B.C.—C. 500 B.C.).*

S. Narain.—*The Rôle of Tirhoot in the Movement of 1857-59.*

Priyatosh Banerjee.—*Some Observations on the Interpretation of the Pāṇinisūtrā 'Vāsudevārjunābhyāṃ vun' and the Antiquity of the Bhāgavatas.* A rule of Pāṇini (iv, iii, 98), as interpreted by different grammarians from Patañjali onward, shows that Vāsudeva had become an object of religious adoration before the time of Pāṇini. So the Bhāgavata school of the Vaiṣṇavas cannot be later than the 6th century B.C.

Journal of the Ganganatha Jha Research Institute, vol. X, pts 1-4

R. C. Hazra.—*The Śiva-dharma.* The *Śivadharma* is a work in twelve chapters extolling the adoration Rudra-Śiva in the form of Liṅga. This sectarian treatise said to have been composed between 200 and 500 A.C. attained in course of time the position of an Upapurāṇa. The contents of the work have been described here and verses quoted from it in later works have been shown in the appendix.

P. C. Sen Gupta.—*Date of the Bhārata Battle or Mahābhārata War—Rejoinder No. II.* Arguments put forward in favour of the year 1432-31 B.C. as the date of the Bhārata battle are further criticized in this Rejoinder, and reasons are advanced anew in support of the year 2449 B.C. as the date.

Ram Shankar Bhattacharya.—*Significance of the Examples in the Mahābhāṣya.* The later grammarians have ingeniously analysed the character of examples cited in Patañjali's *Mahābhāṣya*, and discovered in them implied grammatical directions as needed.

Deva Raj.—*A Short Note on Harṣa.* The Note is a critical estimate of the general policy and conduct of king Harṣavardhana of Kanauj. Harṣa is shown to have kept an army out of proportion to the size of his territory. He is said to have indulged in excessive charities without any regard for the meagre resources at his command. The king had, as it is pointed out, predilection for Buddhism as against Brahmanism.

P. S. Sastri.—*The Problem of Personality in Aesthetic Experience.* Schools of poetic criticism hold different views as to the question whether Rasa is an impersonal, objective and universal experience or it can be a determinate consciousness.

Bhakti Sudha Mukhopadhyay.—*Suggestion—A Poetic Theory.* Dhvani or Vyañjanā in literary compositions is the suggested sense that lies behind the expressed one. The hidden import produces excellence. The nature of such excellence and the 'suggestion' that produces it have been explained.

Ratanchandra Agrawala.—*Two Short Historical Notes.* The Notes discuss (i) Some Early Brāhmī and Kharoṣṭhī Inscriptions on Silk from Chinese Turkestan, and (ii) Some Iranian Coin Terms in Kharoṣṭhī Documents from Chinese Turkestan.

Journal of the Oriental Institute, M.S. University, Baroda,
vol. III, no. 3

S. N. Vyas.—*The Culture of Hermitages in the Rāmāyaṇa.*

Ludo J. Rocher.—*Euclid's Stoicheia and Jagannātha's Rekhāgaṇita : A Study on Mathematical Terminology.* The Greek and Sanskrit definitions of various terms in Mathematics have been compared.

S. N. Ghoshal.—*Dr. H. Jacobi's Introduction to Bhavisattakahā.* Translated from the original German.

P. K. Gode.—*Date of Navanītarāma's Commentary on the Raghuvaṃśa (Later than A.D. 1650).*

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New Facts about the Senas

According to the inscriptions of the Sena kings of Bengal, who claimed descent from the Moon, their family originally lived in Karṇāṭa or the Kannaḍa-speaking area of South India. Vijayasena, who extirpated Pāla rule from wide regions of Bengal, is stated to have been the son of Hemantasena and grandson of Sāmantasena who was a descendant of Vīrasena. Verse 4 of the Deopāṛā inscription (N. G. Majumdar, *Inscriptions of Bengal,* vol. III, pp. 46 ff.) of Vijayasena says that his ancestor Vīrasena and other early members of the Sena family of lunar descent were ruling in Dākṣiṇātya. These ancestors of Vijayasena are described as *rājapụtras* (princes) in verse 3 of his Barrackpur plate (*op. cit.*, pp.61 ff.) and verse 3 of the Naihāṭī plate (*op. cit.*, pp. 71 ff.) of his son and successor Ballālasena while verse 3 of the Māḍhāinagar (*op., cit.*, pp. 109 ff.) and Bhowāl (*Ep. Ind.*, vol. XXVI, pp. 5 ff.) plates of [illegible]'lālasena's son and successor Lakṣmaṇasena speaks of them as *narendras* (rulers). There is little doubt that these were minor chiefs ruling over parts of Karṇāṭa as feudatories of the kings of that country. Verse 5 of the Deopāṛā inscription describes Sāmantasena, born in the Sena family, as an ornament of the Brahma-Kṣatriya lineage (i.e. a dynasty claiming the mixed status of the Brāhmaṇa and the Kṣatriya).[1] Verse 8 of the same record says that Sāmantasena was famous in the southern quarter (i.e. South India) for killing the despoilers of the royal fortune (*lakṣmī*) of the Karṇāṭa country. This shows that he was a feudatory of the king of Karṇāṭa. According to the next verse of the inscription, in his old age, Sāmantasena settled on the banks of the Ganges. The later history of the family as well as verses 3-4 of the Naihāṭī plate would suggest that the area where Sāmantasena settled lay in Rāḍha or Rāḍhā in South-west Bengal. Verse 4 of the Mādhāinagar and Bhowāl plates also say that Sāmantasena, who was a descendant of Vīrasena and was an ornament of the Karṇāṭa-Kṣatriya clan, settled on the banks of the Ganges. It may be noted that the Senas now claimed the status only of the Kṣatriya. The Naihāṭī plate however says that princes born in the lunar family of the Senas adorned the Rāḍhā country while the next stanza of the same epigraph speaks of Sāmantasena as born in the family of those princes. This gives an impression that the Sena family settled in Rāḍha even before the days of Sāmantasena. But this goes against the earlier evidence of the Deopāṛā inscription, which is supported by the later Mādhāinagar and Bhowāl plates, and must be regarded as a mistake due to confusion. Thus Sāmantasena, who was the grandfather of Vijayasena (end of the eleventh and the first half of the twelfth century) and flourished about the third quarter of the eleventh century, was no doubt the first chief of the Sena family of Karṇāṭa, who settled in South-west Bengal and carved out a small principality somewhere near the Ganges. The settlement of this Karṇāṭa family in Bengal can hardly be isolated from other contemporary Karṇāṭa settlements, especially those in Bihār and Orissa such as the Karṇāṭa family of Nānyadeva (1097-1147 A.D.) in Mithilā or North Bihār and the Rāṣṭrakūṭas and Tailapavaṁśīs in Orissa (cf. *QJMS.*, vol. XLIV, pp. 1 ff.). These Karṇāṭa establishments are usually associated with the eastern expeditions of Cālukya Vikramāditya VI (1076-1127 A.D.) undertaken sometime before 1068 A.D.

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[1] These Brahma-Kṣatriya Senas could hardly have much to do with the Jain teachers with names ending in *Sena* and settled in the Dharwar District (cf. R. C. Majumdar, *History of Bengal*, Dacca University, vol. I, p. 207). The popularity of the name *Ballāla* among the Senas appears to associate them with the Hoysala rulers bearing the same name. It has to be remembered that Hoysala Ballāla I, ruler of the Belur-Halebid region of Karṇāṭa and feudatory of Cālukya Vikramāditya VI, was a contemporary of Vijayasena, father of Ballālasena. We do not find so many Ballālas in any other dynasty as in the Hoysala family. In fact the popularity of the name Ballāla seems to date from the age of the Hoysalas. Like the Senas, the Hoysalas claimed descent from the moon.

Verse 5 of the Barrackpur plate describes Hemantasena, son and successor of Sāmantasena, as "very skilful in protecting the king (or kings)". This seems to suggest that he acknowledged the suzerainty of the king whose dominions included South-western Bengal where the Senas had carved out a principality. Hemantasena's overlord may have been the contemporary Pāla monarch.

Such stanzas as verse 17 of the Deopāṛā inscription, verse 7 of the Naihāṭī plate and verse 6 of the Mādhāinagar and Bhowāl plates suggest that Vijayasena, son and successor of Hemantasena, was the first independent and imperial ruler of the Sena family. His reign is now usually assigned to the period 1095-1158 A.D. or 1125-1158 A.D.[2] He must have begun his career as a feudatory of the Pāla overlord of his father and thrown off the Pāla yoke in the latter part of his life. It was he who established Sena rule over large areas of Bengal. Some scholars are inclined to identify Vijayasena with "Vijayarāja of Nidrābalī" mentioned in Sandhyākaranandin's *Rāmacarita* (II, 6) and its commentary as a feudatory of Rāmapāla (circa 1077-1120 A.D.). The Deopārā inscription records the construction of a temple by Vijayasena at a place in the vicinity of modern Rājshāhī in North Bengal. The Barrackpur plate was issued by him from Vikramapura in the present Dacca District of East Bengal. It records the grant of a piece of land which was situated in the Khāḍī District (about the present Sundarban area) and was measured according to the length of the measuring rod prevalent in Samataṭa (the present Tripurā-Noākhāli region). These facts appear to point to Vijayasena's hold almost over the whole of Bengal. But if he succeeded in annexing the whole of North Bengal to his dominions, that work could not have been completed before the eighth regnal year of his Pāla contemporary Madanapāla, which corresponded to Śaka 1073 = 1151 A.D. According to the Manahali plate (Maitreya, *Gauḍalekhamālā*, pp. 148 ff.), issued from Rāmāvatī (a city probably situated near modern Gaur in the Mālda District), Madanapāla granted in the eighth year of his reign a village lying in the Halāvartta *maṇḍala* of the Koṭivarṣa *viṣaya* in the Puṇḍravardhana *bhukti*. The *viṣaya* or district of Koṭivarṣa covered the present Dinājpur region while Madanapāla's first regnal year is known to have fallen in Śaka 1066 = 1144 A.D. (*JAS.*, Letters, vol XVII, pp. 27 ff.) In this connection it is interesting to note that the Pālas were called *Gauḍeśvara*, 'lord of Gauḍa,' and that they are actually mentioned by this title in the Sena records even of the time of Lakṣmaṇasena, grandson of Vijayasena, while Lakṣmaṇasena (circa 1179-1206 A.D.) was the first Sena king to have adopted the said title in his records issued during the latter part of his reign. Whether the title *Gauḍeśvara* indicates the hold of the Pālas on the city of Gauḍa (modern Gaur in the Mālda District) even during the reigns of Vijayasena and Ballālasena (circa 1158-79 A.D.) is difficult to determine. The foundation of the city of Lakṣmaṇāvatī in the suburbs of the city of Gauḍa apparently by Lakṣmaṇasena may of course be supposed to suggest that this king was responsible for ousting Pāla rule from the city. But the title *Gauḍeśvara* is applied to Vijayasena and Ballālasena in the records of Lakṣmaṇasena's successors and to Ballāla also in the manuscripts of his literary works, although this association of the title with the said kings may be regarded as not entirely beyond doubt. If, however, the *Gauḍorvīśa-kula-praśasti* and *Vijaya-praśasti* of Śrīharṣa were inspired by the achievements of Vijayasena, both Vijaya and Ballāla must have claimed to be 'lord of Gauḍa.' As will be seen below, a recently discovered inscription of Ballālasena seems also to support this suggestion.

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[2] Cf. R. C. Majumdar in *History of Bengal, op. cit.*, p. 321. The difference in the approximate date of Vijayasena's accession is due to the fact that the date of his Barrackpur plate (N. G. Majumdar, loc. cit.; *Ep. Ind.*, vol. XV, pp. 282 ff.) has been variously read as the year 32 and 62 of the king's regnal reckoning. The reading is however clearly and undoubtedly 62. D. R. Bhandarkar was inclined to refer the year to the Cālukya-Vikrama era in which case it would correspond to 1137-38 A.D. (List, No. 1682, note). If this has to be accepted, the ruler to whom Hemantasena and also Vijayasena at the beginning of his career owed allegiance was the Cālukya king of the Deccan and not the Pāla monarch of Bengal and Bihar. But in the Barrackpur plate, Vijayasena assumes the imperial titles *Parameśvara Paramabhaṭṭāraka Mahārājādhirāja* and it is unlikely that he would at this stage have indicated his subservience to the Cālukyas by dating his record in the Cālukya-Vikrama era.

Vijayasena married the daughter of a ruler of the Śūra family of Rāḍha. This may have resulted in the consolidation of his position in that area. According to the Deopāṛā inscription (verses 20-21), Vijayasena came into conflict with Nānya, Vīra, Rāghava and Vardhana and defeated the kings of Gauḍa, Kāmarūpa (Assam) and Kaliṅga. He is also stated to have led a fleet along the course of the Ganges in an attempt to conquer the countries of the west. The king of Gauḍa was undoubtedly a Pāla ruler. Rāghava, supposed to be the same as the lord of Kaliṅga, has been identified with the Gaṅga king of that name who was the son of the great Anantavarman Coḍagaṅga (1078-1147 A.D.), referred to in Ānanda Bhaṭṭa's *Ballālacarita* as a friend of Vijayasena, and ruled in circa 1156-70 A.D. Nānya has been identified with Nānyadeva who established the Karṇāṭaka dynasty of rulers in Mithilā in 1097 A.D. The identification of Vīra and Vardhana is doubtful. But considering the fact that Vijayasena must have conquered Vaṅga (East Bengal) with its capital Vikramapura, where he transferred his headquarters, from a king of the Varman dynasty, it is not impossible to think that Vīra (Vīravarman) was a successor of the Varman king Bhojavarman of the Belābo plate (Majumdar, *op. cit.*, pp. 14 ff.).

According to the Mādhāinagar and Bhowāl plates, issued about the end of Lakṣmaṇasena's reign (the second of them in the twenty-seventh regnal year of the king), Lakṣmaṇasena, who called himself 'the lord of Gauḍa', defeated the Gauḍa king when he was merely a boy. He is also stated to have defeated the kings of Kāśī (apparently a Gāhaḍavāla monarch) and Prāgjyotiṣa (Assam) and sported with the damsels of the Kaliṅga country. The Mādhāinagar plate refers to Lakṣmaṇasena's conflict with Kaliṅga and Kāmarūpa elsewhere also. In the later records of the Sena family (N. G. Majumdar, *op. cit.*, p. 128, etc.), Lakṣmaṇasena is stated to have planted victory-pillars and sacrificial posts at the place of Kṛṣṇa and Balarāma on the South Sea (i.e. Purī), at the site of Viśveśvara at the junction of the Ganges, Asi and Varaṇā (i.e. Benares or Kāśī), and at Triveṇī (i.e. Prayāga or Allahabad). In these inscriptions, Viśvarūpasena, son and successor of Lakṣmaṇasena, is stated to have come into conflict with the Garga-yavanas, no doubt the Turkish Musalmans who extirpated Sena rule from Rāḍha and Varendra, i.e. South-western and Northern Bengal, in the later part of Lakṣmaṇasena's reign.

We have seen that Vijayasena came into conflict with Nānyadeva, founder of the Karṇāṭaka dynasty of Mithilā, and with certain powers of the west against whom he led a naval expedition. It is difficult to believe that Vijayasena had any appreciable success against Nāya whose successors were ruling over Mithilā for a long time to come.[3] His grandson Lakṣmaṇasena claims to have had some success against a Gāhaḍavāla king and to have planted pillars of victory at Benares and Allahabad in the dominions of that monarch. This may imply that Lakṣmaṇasena held sway over some parts of Bihār at least temporarily. Besides these, there is no epigraphic evidence to show that the Senas had anything to do with any part of Bihār, in the southern half of which the Pālas are known to have been ruling till the third or fourth quarter of the twelfth century. Epigraphy so far has not supplied any evidence regarding Sena rule in Bihār. Minhājuddīn's *Tabaqāt-i-Nāṣirī*, while describing Muḥammad Bhakhtiyār Khiljī's conquest of the western half of the dominions of Lakṣmaṇasena, also does not suggest Sena rule over any part of Bihār.

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[3] Some scholars appear to suggest that the comparative obscurity of Nānyadeva's successors and the popularity of the Lakṣmaṇasena-Saṁvat in Mithilā point to Sena success in North Bihar. Both these arguments are however weak. The first one is vague and inconclusive while the second is disputed. The epoch of the La-Saṁ falls in the period 1107-19 A.D. long before Lakṣmaṇasena's accession. It could have been associated with the Sena king only if it is possible to think of a popular confusion. Such a confusion

It will be seen that the published Sena inscriptions have nothing to say on Ballālasena's military achievements against any power, although there are some traditions referring to his relations with Bihār (cf. *History of Bengal, op. cit.*, p. 212, note). According to the *Laghubhārata*, Ballāla led an expedition against Mithilā. As he is said to have heard the news of the birth of his son Lakṣmaṇasena on the way, the expedition has been assigned to the reign of Vijayasena. The *Ballālacarita* says that Ballāla accompanied his father in an expedition against Mithilā and obtained victory. According to another tradition recorded in the same work, Mithilā was one of the five provinces of Ballāla's kingdom. The other four provinces of the list (*viz*. Rāḍha, Varendra, Bāgḍī and Vaṅga) have been located in Bengal. It has to be noticed that these traditions have nothing to say about Ballāla's hold on South Bihār.

The late Mr. N. N. Vasu quoted the passage *Ballāla-pūjito bhūtvā Vaṭo=bhūn=Magadheśvaraḥ* from a *Kulapañjikā* of the Uttara-Rāḍhīyas and said, "It is said in the *Uttara-Rāḍhīya Kulapañjikā* that Vaṭeśvaramitra, the sixth descendant of Sudarśanamitra of Uttara-Rāḍha, was honoured by Ballāla and obtained the lordship of Magadha. At Kahalgāon (Colgong), 3 (sic.) Krośas from Bhāgalpur, there is a

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is however not improbable in view of the fact that the La-Saṁ is associated with an imperial ruler named Lakṣmaṇasena while only one such ruler of Eastern India is known to history. But even if it is believed that it was the Sena king Lakṣmaṇasena who founded the La-Saṁ of Mithilā, it may only suggest his own connection with that area and not his ancestors'.

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temple of Śiva known as Vaṭeśvaranātha, which even now preserves the memory of Vaṭeśvaramitra" (*Vaṅger Jātīya Itihāsa,* Rājanya-kāṇḍa, B.S. 1321, pp. 324-25). On the strength of this tradition Vasu believed that the eastern part of Magadha (South Bihār) was included in the doimnions of Ballālasena, although this suggestion has been ignored by later writers on the early history of Bengal. There is however evidence now to show that the name of the god Vaṭeśvara at Pātharghāṭā near Colgong (about 20 miles from Bhāgalpur) has nothing to do with a contemporary of Ballālasena. Recently I edited an inscription found at Pātharghāṭā in the *Journal of the Bihar Research Society,* vol. XXXVII, parts 3-4, pp. 4-7.[4] This inscription is written in characters of the eighth or ninth century A.D. and speaks of the celebration of an anniversary festival of the god Vaṭeśvara who was therefore being worshipped at Pātharghāṭā several centuries before Ballālasena. Curiously enough Ballālasena's hold over parts of East Bihār has recently been proved in an unexpected way.

In the second week of February 1954 I was travelling in Bihār in search of inscriptions and, in the course of my tour, camped at Colgong (Kahalgāon) about 20 miles from Bhāgalpur. With the help of Mr. Bholānāth Mukherjee of Colgong and Dr. Lakshmīkānta Miśra of Kasḍī near Colgong I succeeded in arranging for a visit to Belnīgarh about 18 miles away within the Gaḍḍe Subdivision of the Santal Parganas

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[4] In this connection it may be pointed out that I read the name of the god in the said inscription as *Vaḍḍeśvara* which I took to be a wrong spelling for *Vaḍeśvara*=Sanskrit *Vaṭeśvara.* The sign looking like *ḍḍ* and occurring in the early records found in various parts of India has however been taken to stand for the retroflex *l* (*ḷ*) which was in early times often written for the intervocal *ḍ*, although in the southern parts of India it often replaces the ordinary dental *l*. The name of the god in the Pātharghāṭā inscriptions has therefore to be read as *Vaḷeśvara*=*Vaḍeśvara*=Sanskrit *Vaṭeśvara.* Considering however the fact the retroflex *l* (*ḷ*) is absent in the dialects of the area where the inscription has been found and that in these dialects the intervocal *ḍ* is pronounced as the retroflex *r* (*ṛ*), it is not impossible to read the name as *Vaṛeśvara*=*Vaḍeśvara*=Sanskrit *Vaṭeśvara;* cf. Hindi *baṛ*=Prakria *vaḍa*=Sankrit *vaṭa.* Recently I hape examined an inscription on the Sāhkund hill in the Bhāgalpur District, in which the word *cūḍāmaṇi* has been written as *cuḍḍāmaṇi.* In this the sign looking like *ḍḍ* represents the retroflex *l* (*ḷ*) or the retroflex *r* (*ṛ*)-like pronunciation of intervocal *ḍ* exactly as in the inscription edited by me.

District in order to examine two rock inscriptions that were reported to exist there. On our way to Belnīgarh we passed through a locality called Sanokhār or Sanokhār Bāzār (about 11 miles from Colgong) where I learnt from a local Zamindar named Gaṅāprasād Ṭekarīwālā that some time ago one or two images had been discovered from the bed of an old tank at Sanokhār in the course of its re-excavation. One of these was a small bronze or *aṣṭa-dhātu* image with a metal cover above it. This cover was stated to bear some writing. In the local temple the metal image and its inscribed cover were preserved. The image kept in a rather dark corner of the small temple was that of the Sun-god of the usual North Indian type. In the veranda of the temple the cover was lying uncared for. It was completely covered with thick verdigris. The inscription on it was found to be only one line of writing in the Gauḍīya characters of about the twelfth century; but its decipherment was impossible without getting it properly cleaned. I succeeded in securing the cover on loan from Mr. Ṭekarīwālā through Mr. Jānakīnāth Miśra. A few days later, it was found to my great joy that the inscription, recording the dedication of the cover in question, had been engraved during the ninth regnal year of king Ballālasena, roughly corresponding to 1166 A.D. The epigraph therefore offers the first definite evidence regarding the expansion of Sena rule in East Bihār about the middle of the twelfth century.

Elsewhere (*JAS.*, Letters, vol. XVII, pp. 29-30; *Ep. Ind.*, vol. XXVIII, pp. 137 ff.) we have referred to the struggle between the Pālas and the Gāhaḍavālas of the U.P.[5] The Gāhaḍavāla king Govindacandra (1114-55 A.D.) is known to have granted land in the Pāṭnā District in 1124 A.D. and to have been staying at Monghyr in 1446 A.D. His later contemporary, the Pāla monarch Madanapāla (1144-61 A.D.), is similarly known to have held sway over the Pāṭnā District in his 3rd (1146 A.D.) and over the Monghyr District in his 14th (1157 A.D.) and 18th (1161 A.D.) regnal years. This seems to suggest that Madanapāla succeeded in driving the Gāhaḍavāla king out of Bihār. Madanapāla's successor Govindapāla (circa 1161-65 A.D.) is known to have been holding sway over the Pāṭnā-

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[5] See also my article on the Jaynagar inscription of Palapāla recently contributed to the *JAS*.

Gayā region in his fourth regnal year, roughly corresponding to 1164 A.D.; but he was ousted from that area by the Gāhaḍavālas some time before 1175 A.D. either during the reign of Vijayacandra (1155-70 A.D.) or of Jayaccandra (1170-93 A.D.). The fact that a Pāla king named Palapāla (circa 1165-1200 A.D.), probably the successor of Govindapāla, was ruling over the Monghyr District in the thirtyfifth year of his reign would suggest that Govindapāla died about 1165 A.D. when West Bihār passed to the Gāhaḍavāla king Vijayacandra and that his successor Palapāla continued to rule over parts of East Bihār till the end of the twelfth century when that region was conquered by the Turkish Musalmans. We have now to accommodate Ballālasena's hold over the Bhāgalpur District about 1166 A.D. As this date roughly coincides with that of the overthrow of Govindapāla, it is possible to think that the Gāhaḍavālas and Senas led a joint attack on the Pālas and against South Bihār simultaneously from the west and the east. Palapāla seems however to have succeeded in recovering East Bihār from the Senas although West Bihār appears to have remained in the hands of the Gāhaḍavālas.

The rediscovery and re-examination of a lost inscription of the Senas have revealed certain interesting facts about the successors of Lakṣmaṇasena. So far only three inscriptions of the later Senas have been published. These are: (1) (2) the Madhyapāṛā plate (now in the Vaṅgīya Sāhitya Parishad, Calcutta) and Madanpāṛā plate of Viśvarūpasena, son of Lakṣmaṇasena, and (3) the Idilpur plate assigned to Keśavasena supposed to be another son of Lakṣmaṇasena and a brother of Viśvarūpasena. A faulty transcript of the Madhyapāṛā copper-plate inscription was published by H. P. Sastri in *Ind. Hist. Quart.*, vol. II, pp. 77 ff.; but a fairly satisfactory transcript and translation of the inscription were published later by N. G. Majumdar in his *Inscriptions of Bengal,* vol. III, pp. 143 ff., 177 ff. I have recently re-edited the grant portion of the record in an article contributed to the *Journal of the Asiatic Society,* Calcutta. The Madanpāṛā plate was unsatisfactorily edited by N. N. Vasu in *JASB.*, 1896, pp. 6 ff. with a facsimile which is however not a mechanical reproduction. As the original plate, secured by the Asiatic Society of Bengal, could not later be traced, N. G. Majumdar did not succeed in improving much upon Vasu's transcript while re-editing the text of the inscription in

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his work (*op. cit.*, pp. 133 ff.). An extremely faulty text of the Idilpur plate prepared by one of the Pandits under James Prinsep was published in *JASB.*, 1838, pp. 43 ff., with a facsimile which is admittedly retouched. This plate was also lost shortly after its publication and Majumdar failed to improve upon Prinsep's text while re-editing it in his work. Recently I succeeded in tracing the lost Madanpāṛā plate in the Dacca Museum in East Pākistān. An examination of the original Madanpāṛā plate side by side with the published facsimile of the lost Idilpur plate led me to conclude that both records exhibit exactly similar characteristics and that Vasu was certainly right in suggesting the identity of the issuer of the Madanpāṛā plate with that of the Idilpur plate. From the original as well as its mechanical reproductions it was possible for me to re-edit the grant portion of the Madanpāṛā plate also. My article on this subject was likewise sent to the *Journal of the Asiatic Society* for publication. While carefully examining the Madhyapāṛā, Madanpāṛā and Idilpur plates, I have succeeded in tracing numerous errors in their published transcripts and interpretations. Some of those points may be discussed here summarily.

It is well known that the Madhyapāṛā, Madanpāṛā and Idilpur plates have practically the same introduction couched in verses. Three stanzas of this introductory part of the records are very important.

I. *pūrvaṁ janma-śateṣu bhūmīpatinā santyajya muktigrahaṁ*
nūnaṁ tena sutārthinā Suradhunī-tīre Haraḥ prīṇitaḥ,
etasmāt katham=anyathā ripu-vadhū-vaidhavya-baddha-vrato
vikhyāta-kṣitipāla-maulir=abhavac=chrī-Viśvarūpo nṛpaḥ.

This is the tenth verse of the Madanpāṛā plate and the eleventh stanza of the Madhyapāṛā and Idilpur plates. It refers to Viśvarūpasena and forms part of the description of his father Lakṣmaṇasena, although he was later properly introduced in the usual way in a different stanza to be quoted below.

II. *yāṁ nirmāya pavitra-pāṇir=abhavad=Vedhāḥ satīnāṁ śikhā-*
ratnaṁ yā kim=api svarūpa-caritair=viśvaṁ yay=ālaṅkṛtam,
lakṣmīr=bhūr=api vāñchitāni vidadhe yasyāḥ sapatnyor=dvayaṁ
śrīmaty=Ahvaṇadevy=amuṣya mahiṣī s=ābhūt=trivargg-ocitā.

This stanza is verse 13 of the Madanpāṛā plate, verse 14 of the Idilpur plate and verse 15 of the Madhyapāṛā plate, although the text quoted above is from our own reading of the third of the said three records. It introduces the name of king Viśvarūpasena's mother. This name is in my opinion given in the Madhyapāṛā plate as *Ahvaṇadevī* which has been wrongly read by some scholars as Ṭaṭṭaṇadevī, Tyasṭaṇadevī and Alhaṇadevī. (cf. *Ep. Ind.*, vol. XXVI, p. 9, note 4). It is interesting to note that the Madanpārā and Idilpur plates offer a slightly different reading of this verse. In place of *dvayaṁ śrīmaty=Ahvaṇadevy=amuṣya* of the Madhyapāṛā plate quoted above, the published transcript of the Idilpur plate has *mahārājñī śrī-Cāndrādevī svasya* (although the last three *akṣaras* appear to read actually °*vy=amuṣya*) and that of the Madanpāṛā plate *mahārājñī śrī-Tāḍādevi* (or *Tāndrādevi*) *tad=asya*. These readings of the queen-mother's name seriously violate the metre and could not have been the original reading of the verse. Moreover, the name read as *Cāndrādevī*, *Tāndrādevi* and *Tāḍādevi* is clearly re-engraved on an erasure in both the Madanpāṛā and Idilpur plates. It seems that the persons responsible for re-engraving wanted to write *śry-Ahvaṇadevy=amusya* in the Idilpur plate and *śry-Ahvanadevi tasya* in the Madanpāṛā plate, although in the latter case the necessary change of *tad=asya* to *tasya* was overlooked. The two *akṣaras* read as *cāndrā*, *tāndrā* and *tāḍā* have peculiar shapes because the *akṣaras* that had been originally incised in the space were not fully erased before the re-engraving of the new letters.

III. *etābhyāṁ Śaśiśekhara-Girijābhyām=iva babhūva Śaktidharaḥ*
śrī-Viśvarūpasenaḥ pratibhaṭa-bhūpāla-mukuṭa-maṇiḥ.

This verse introduces the ruling king Viśvarūpasena. The above is the reading of the Madhyapāṛā plate. The Madanpāṛā plate reads *śrī-Viśvarūpasenadevaḥ* instead of *śrī-Visvarūpasenaḥ* and thereby introduces a change in the metre. What is more interesting is that, in this inscription, the four *akṣaras viśvarūpa* have been re-engraved on an erasure offering space for two *akṣaras* only. The second of the two *akṣaras* of the original name that was erased to make place for the name of Viśvarūpasena had a superscript *r* sign which still remains undisturbed. The original name was therefore something like Sūryya, Sarvva, Darppa, Garvva, etc. The same characteristics, viz. the re-engraving of the *akṣaras viśvarūpa* after having erased a name of two *akṣaras* of which the second had a superscript *r* sign above it, are also noticed in line 38 of the inscription where the name of the issuer of the charter is again mentioned as one desirous of making a grant. The three stanzas quoted above, if read together carefully, would suggest that the original issuer of the plate was a son of king Viśvarūpasena. This is further definitely indicated by the fact that in the grant portion of the charter the original issuer had been Arirājaniḥśaṅkaśaṅkara śrīmat** senadeva, son of Arirājavṛṣabhaśaṅkara śrīmad-Viśvarūpasenadeva, grandson of Arirājamadanaśaṅkara śrīmal-Lakṣmaṇasenadeva, and great-grandson of Arirājaniḥśaṅkaśaṅkara śrīmad-Ballālasenadeva, although the titles and names were later changed, by the erasure of some *akṣaras* and re-engraving of others in their place, to Arirājavṛṣabhāṅkaśaṅkara śrīmat-Viśvarūpasenadeva, son of Arirājamadanaśaṅkara śrīmal-Lakṣmaṇasenadeva, grandson of Arirājaniḥśaṅkaśaṅkara śrīmad-Ballālasenadeva, and great-grandson of Arirājavṛṣabhaśaṅkara śrīmad-Vijayasenadeva. There are very clear traces of these changes in the Madanpāṛā plate. The only case where the person responsible for the changes made in the writing on the plate erred is that he forgot to change *parama-saura* to *parama-vaiṣṇava* even after changing the name of the king intended from *śrīmad-Viśvarūpasenadeva* to *śrīmal-Lakṣmaṇasenadeva*.

The four *akṣaras viśvarūpa* being written in the space of two *akṣaras* only look in the Madanpāṛā plate like *viśvara*. In the retouched facsimile of the Idilpur plate which exhibits the same characteristics of erasure and re-engraving as the Madanpāṛā plate, the re engraved name of the issuer looks like *kiśvapa*. There is little doubt that the correct reading of the re-engraved name of the issuer of the Idilpur plate is *Viśvarūpa*. His title read as *Arirāja-asabyaśaṅkara* is really *Arirājavṛṣabhaśaṅkara* in which the *akṣaras vṛṣabha* were apparently re-engraved after having erased *niḥśaṅka*. It seems that Viśvarūpasena assumed the title *Arirājavṛṣabhaśaṅkara* or *Arirājavṛṣabhāṅkaśaṅkara* in imitation of his great-grandfather Vijayasena, while his son who had originally issued the Madanpāṛā and Idilpur plates assumed the title *Arirājaniḥśaṅkaśaṅkara* in imitation of his own great-grandfather Ballālasena.

What has been said above will show that Viśvarūpasena's son who was the original issuer of the Madanpāṛā and Idilpur plates had a name like Sūryyasena, Sarvvasena, Darppasena, Garvvasena, etc. In the grant portion of both the records the names of the Sena rulers are found joined in *Sandhi* with the preceding expression *śrīmat*. This shows that the name of the original issuer of the charters (preceded as it is by the unmodified half *t* of *śrīmat*) did not begin with a letter that would modify the final *t* of the word *śrīmat* in *Sandhi*. Thus a name like *Sūryyasena* and *Saruvasena* would suit the context but one like *Darppasena* and *Garuvasena* would not. The fact that *Kumāra* Sūryyasena, usually taken to be a son of Viśvarūpa, is actually mentioned in the Madhyapāṛā plate of Viśvarūpasena which was issued sometime after the changes in the Madanpāṛā and Idilpur plates had been effected suggests that the name of the original issuer of the two grants was almost certainly Sūryyasena.

The date of the Madanpāṛā plate is given as *caturddaśayābdīya-Bhādra-dina* 8. In this the *akṣaras caturddaśa* were re-engraved after having erased *dvitī*. The grant had therefore been originally issued in the second regnal year of Sūryyasena but was corrected in the fourteenth regnal year of his father Viśvarūpasena. Sūryyasena thus ruled the Sena kingdom for a few years before the fourteenth year of Viśvarūpa's reign. As I am showing elsewhere, Sūryyasena does not appear to have been a rebel against his father's authority. He probably assumed the reigns of government when Viśvarūpasena was temporarily incapacitated from ruling owing to his being attacked by a disease like madness or arrested by some enemies. But he was reinstated on the throne as soon as he recovered or obtained his release.

The reason for the changes effected in the Madanpāṛā plate, issued by Sūryyasena, during the latter part of Viśvarūpasena's reign can be easily determined. Sūryyasena granted the village of Piñjokāṣṭhī with an annual income of 632 Cūrṇīs or Purāṇas in favour of the Brāhmaṇa Viśvarūpadevaśarman as a rent-free holding. It was however later noticed that a portion of the village yielding the annual income of 132 Purāṇas had been previously granted in favour of the Kandarpaśaṅkara *āśrama*. The necessity was therefore felt to compensate the donee by granting him a portion of the village called Nāraṇḍapa, yielding 127 Purāṇas annually. This necessitated the erasure and re-engraving of many passages of the inscription. In the absence of the original Idilpur plate, it is difficult to determine the cause of the changes effected in that charter. But a careful examination of the published facsimile of the charter would suggest that it had been originally granted in favour of the donee of the Madanpāṛā plate but that later his brother Iśvaradevasarman was made the donee of the grant.

The introductory part of Sūryyasena's charters was adapted from that of his father's records. He simply inserted his own name in the place of his father's and the name of his mother in that of his grandmother's. This was easily done as the mention of Viśvarūpa in the description of Lakṣmaṇasena in Viśvarūpasena's grants could be regarded as the latter's introduction in the genealogy. But this compelled the poet responsible for drafting Sūryyasena's records to use a few verses in the description of Viśvarūpa although in Viśvarūpasena's own charter they form part of the description of Lakṣmaṇasena. The said facts coupled with the absence of Viśvarūpa's records of the earlier part of his reign may also suggest that the introductory part of his record was adopted from that of his son's charters. Indeed the mention of Viśvarūpa once in an earlier verse (which looks rather abnormal) makes it more probable than the first alternative. This may also explain *vṛṣabhaṅka* (not *vṛṣabhāṅka* actually) in Viśvarūpa's title as *vṛṣabha* was in one case re-engraved on *niḥśa* of *niḥśaṅka*. But if such was the case, the exploits at Purī, Benares and Allahābād have to be attributed to Viśvarūpa rather than to his father and the encounter with the Yavanas to Sūryyasena, although all of them may be referred to Lakṣmaṇasena's reign.

D. C. Sircar

The Kuṣāṇa Invasion of India under Kumāragupta

The Kuṣāṇas occupying the north-western marches of India during the ascendency of the early Guptas were a constant menace to the security of the fertile regions of rivers and plains stretching to the south-east. Whenever the pressure of nomadic migrations in the Steppes caused dislocation among the settled communities of the north-west or when the empire of the Indian plains showed signs of weakness, these people swooped down and spread havoc in the country. We have some evidence to show that Samudragupta campaigned in the west and north up to Kāśmīra[2] and it was probably

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[1] The fact that the Kuṣāṇas had lost the empire of India and were confined to their kingdom in the north-west is manifest from a Buddhist text which was translated into Chinese in 392 A.D. by a monk named Kālodaka. This text enumerates the four sons of heaven as the son of heaven of T'sin (China) in the east, the son of heaven of T'ien-chu (India) in the south, the son of heaven of Ta-T'sin (Hither Asia under the Roman Empire) in the west and the son of heaven of the Yue-che (Kuṣāṇa) in the north-west. This shows that by the time the said text was composed the King of India was treated among the four great kings of the world and ranked on a footing of equality with the king of the Kuṣāṇas. In other words the Kuṣāṇas had no connection with India and were concerned only with their north-western dominion. Paul Pelliot has shown that before Kālodaka a text of the same title and on the same subject had been rendered into Chinese by a monk named Kiang-leang-len-che in 266 A.D. or probably in 281 A.D. [Paul Pelliot, *La Théorie des Quatre Fils du Ciel, T'oung Pao* (1923) pp. 97-99]. This text leads us to conclude that after the middle of the third century A.D. the Kuṣāṇas ceased to have anything to do with India. During the period 245-250 A.D. a report from Indo-China to the Chinese court mentions a saying which names China, the Graeco-Roman World and the Yue-che as a triad of great powers. In this enumeration India is not mentioned. Therefore, the independence of India must have been achieved about or just after 250 A.D. As for the view of M. Lüders that the four sons of heaven mentioned above signify the four-fold sovereignty claimed by Kaniṣka, it has been satisfactorily refuted by Sylvain Lévi. [Sylvain Lévi, *Devaputra, Journal Asiatique* (1934) pp 1-21.]

[2] *Ārya-mañjuśrī-mūla-kalpa* ed K. P. Jayaswal, *An Imperial History of India*, p. 52.

सोऽनुपूर्वेण गत्वासौ पश्चिमां दिशि भूपतिः ।
कश्मीरद्वारपर्यन्तं उत्तरां दिशिमाश्रतः ॥

in consequence of these campaigns that the Kuṣāṇas, the devaputra-śāhī śāhānuśāhī, and the Śaka-muruṇḍas (Sai-wang of the Chinese writers) offered their allegiance to the Gupta manarch[3]. But after the death of Samudragupta (cir. 377-378 A.D.) the Kuṣāṇas (called Śakas in Indian works) again invaded India and coveted the wife of the reigning Gupta king Rāmagupta, whereupon Candragupta II had to beguile and kill their king by disguising himself as the queen as we infer from the *Devicandragupta* of Viśākhadatta[4], the *Harṣacarita* of Bāṇabhaṭṭa and the *Majmul-ut-Tawārikh*[5]. Candragupta inflicted a crushing defeat on the Kuṣāṇas somewhere in the Punjab[6], and, as I have shown elsewhere, soon afterwards led an expedition in the north-west up to the banks of the Oxus to remove their menace root and branch[7]. These stirring triumphs cowed down the Kuṣāṇas and cooped them up in their northern homelands. For some decades the people of India enjoyed peace, and arts and culture prospered. Candragupta II Vikramāditya was succeeded by his son Kumāragupta I Mahendrāditya who preserved the integrity and stability of the Gupta empire for a pretty long time. But towards the end of his long reign his hold over his empire began to weaken and fissiparous forces began to appear everywhere. The last inscription of his reign engraved on the pedestal of the stone image found at Mankuwar is dated G.E. 129 (448 A.D.). The absence of any inscription of his reign after this date and the minting of coins on silver-plated copper instead of pure silver suggest a time of troubles. There is some evidence to show that the Kuṣāṇas, conquered and quieted by Candragupta II for the time being, raised their heads again in the disturbed conditions of the latter half of Kumāragupta's reign and poured into India in association with other peoples of the north-west. In this paper I propose to examine this evidence to see what light it throws on this Kuṣāṇa invasion.

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[3] J. F. Fleet, *Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum*, vol. III, no. 1 lines 23-24. देवपुत्रशाहीशाहानुशाहीशकमुरुण्डैः सैहंलादिभिश्च सर्वद्वीपवासिभिरात्मनिवेदनकन्योपायनदानगुरुत्मदाङ्क-स्वविषय भुक्ति-शासन्याचनाद्युपाय-सेवाकृत-बाहुवीर्यप्रसरधरणिबन्धस्य

[4] Sylvain Lévi, *Deux nouveaux traités de la dramaturgie Indienne, Journal Asiatique* (1923), pp. 193-218.

[5] Elliot and Dawson, *History of India*, vol. I, pp. 110-112 discussed by A. S. Altekar, *Journal of the Bihar and Orissa Research Society*, vol. XIV, pp. 223-253.

[6] According to the *Harṣacarita* (Nirṇayasāgara Press edition p. 198, Cowell and Thomas, Eng. translation p. 194) the Śaka king was killed by Candragupta at Aripura, which Rangaswami Saraswati corrects as Alipura and identifies with the hill-fortress of Alipur in the Kangra district. K. P. Jayaswal, on the other hand, identifies this Alipura with the village named Aliwal in the Jullundhar district. But Rājaśekhar in his *Kāvyamīmāṁsā* states that the Śaka king was worsted at Kartikeyanagar, which has been located in the valley of Gomati near the present village of Baijnath in Almora district. [R. N. Dandekar, *History of the Guptas*, pp. 78-79] D. R. Bhandarkar holds that the scene of this occurrence was Kartṛpur (modern Kartarpur). (D. R. Bhandarkar, *New Light on the Early Gupta History*, *Mālavīya Commemoration Volume*, p. 1890] Alberuni [tr. Sachau, vol. II, p. 6] states that the Śaka king was killed at a place between Śākala (Sialkot) and the castle of Loni and Tāranātha [*Indian Antiquary*, vol. IV, pp. 364-365] writes that he was residing at Śāgala (Sialkot) at the time of his defeat.

[7] Buddha Prakash, *The Central Asiatic Expedition of Candragupta Vikramāditya*, *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal* (Letters), vol. XIII (1947), pp. 31-39.

In 224 A.D. the Sassanids replaced the Arsacids on the throne of Iran and adopted a policy of territorial expansion. Ardashir I extended his power in the east and subjugated Śakasthāna. According to Ṭabarī, the king of the Kuṣāṇas, who ruled over the valley of Kabul and the Punjab and whose kingdom included Turan and Makuran (Makran) sent ambassadors to Ardashir, whose sovereignty he acknowledged. Herzfeld believes in the correctness of this tradition[8]. Ardashir's successor Shāhpuhr I (241-272 A.D.) grew so strong as to take the Roman emperor Valerian captive (260 A.D.). He extended his influence towards the east over the Kuṣāṇas. After him Varahran II (276-293 A.D.) exerted great pressure on the Kuṣāṇas. Unable to resist the might of the Sassanids the Kuṣāṇas sued for peace and their king married his daughter to Hormizd II between 301 and 309 A.D. The friendship and alliance of the Kuṣāṇas and the Sassanids were frequently renewed and strengthened by matrimonial connections. Shāhpuhr II (cir. 309-379 A.D.) is said to have formed an alliance with the Śakas. After the debacle of the Kuṣāṇas under Candragupta II Vikramāditya they joined the Sassanids even more closely. Ṭabarī states that the Sassanid emperor Bahrām Gor (420-438 A.D.) received Debal, Makran and the neighbouring tracts of

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[8] Ernst Herzfeld, *Paikuli*, I, p. 36 *et seq.*

Sindh as dowry of the daughter of an Indian king whom he married,[9] Considering the political conditions of north-western India of that time we cannot but conclude that the Indian king mentioned by Ṭabarī was the ruler of the Kuṣāṇas who renovated his alliance with the Sassanids by means of a marital relationship.

These developments in the north-west made the Gupta emperor Kumāragupta alert and led him to seek alliance in another quarter. The opening of land and sea routes between India and China resulted in brisk exchange of traders and pilgrims between them. When Fa-hien was still in India, Che-mong started with sixteen pilgrims from Ch'ang-ngan in 404 A.D. and traversing the land route that passed through Kucha visited Khotan, Iran and Gandhāra and following the track of Fa-hien and passing through Pāṭaliputra returned to China via, Sseu-chuan in 424 A.D. In 420 A.D. another monk named

[9] T. Nöldeke, *Geschichte der Perser und Araber zur zeit der Sassaniden, Aus der arabischen Chronik des Ṭabarī*, p. 108.

The influence of the Sassanids on the Kuṣāṇas is manifest from their coins also. [Ernst Herzfeld, *Kushano-Sassanian coins* (Memoirs of the Archaeological Survey of India no 38 (1930); J. Hackin, *Répartitions des monnaies anciennes en Afghanistan, Journal Asiatique* (1935), p. 287] We learn from these Kuśāno-Sassanian coins that up to the time of Varahran II the eastern part of the Sassanian empire i.e Khurassān, was always governed by a prince of the royal blood who bore the title of *Kushān-shāh*. Thus Peroz, the brother of Shāhpuhr I calls himself "the great Kushānshāh" on his coins. After 252 Shāhpuhr I made his son Hormizd the governor of Khurassan with the pompous title of "the great king of the kings of the Kushāns." Varahran I and Varahran II also used that high-sounding title before coming to the throne. Under Varahran II, his brother Hormizd was the governor of Khurassan. During the war with Rome, he rose in revolt and carved out an independent state in the east with the help of the Śakas and Kuṣāṇas. This insurrection forced Varahran II to stop his war with Rome and throw all his troops in the fight with his rebellious brother. The revolt was quelled and the prince Varahran was made the governor of the eastern province with the title of Saghānshāh "king of the Śakas". Herzfeld believes that the crown-prince of Iran was always made the governor of the province of the east. Thus Kushānshāh or Saghānshāh was the title analogous to that of "the Prince of Wales" in Great Britain. [E. Herzfeld, *Paikuli*, I, pp. 42 *et seq*; A Christensen, *L'Iran sous les Sassanides*, pp. 222-223] Thus we observe that the Kushāns (Kuṣāṇas) had virtually passed under the domination of the Sassanids and their kingdom had to all intents and purposes become a part of the Iranian empire.

Fa-yong, resident of Huang-long (Che-li), took the route of the north with twenty-five persons, toured through Kabul, the Punjab and the valley of the Ganges and returned by sea to Canton. Among the other Chinese visitors to India in this period the names of Tao-pu, Fa-sheng, Fa-wei, Tao-yo and Tao-t'ai have come to us. Tao-yo had come as far as Saṅkāśya, modern Sankisa in the Farrukhabad district.[10] The itineraries of these travellers are unfortunately lost but they give us an indication of the intensity of interest of the Chinese people in India and her culture. In this atmosphere of growing cultural contacts Kumāragupta thought it prudent to enter into an alliance with the Song emperor of China probably as a counterstroke to the treaty of the Kuṣāṇas with the Sassanids. It seems that with this end in view he sent an embassy to the court of the Song emperor at Nanking by the route of the sea. Chinese sources reveal that in 428 A.D. an envoy of a king of Kia-pi-li in T'ien-chu (India) named Yue-ai (beloved of the moon) reached the court of the Song emperor at Nanking bringing besides other presents jewels and white parrots.[11] The name of the Indian king which is translated as "beloved of the moon" (aimé de la lune) appears to have been based on a word derived from "Candra". Curiously enough we learn from the *Kāvyālaṅkārasūtravṛtti* of Vāmana that the son of Candragupta was known as Candraprakāśa. Hara Prasad Śāstrin and A. F. Rudolf Hoernle regard it as a proper name and the latter suggests that it was the pre-accession name of Kumāragupta.[12] Should this view be correct we would easily grasp the significance of the Chinese translation of the name of the Indian king as "beloved of the moon."[13]

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[10] P. C. Bagchi, *India and China*, pp. 72-73.

[11] Sylvain Lévi, *L'Inde Civilisatrice*, p. 195.

[12] The verse in question is

सोऽयं सम्प्रति चन्द्रगुप्ततनयश्चन्द्रप्रकाशो ।
जातो भूपतिराश्रयः कृतधियां दिष्ट्याकृतार्थश्रमः ॥

For a discussion of the problem of the identification of Candraprakāśa vide, John Allan, *Catalogue of the Indian Coins in the British Museum—Gupta dynasties* (London 1914), chapter on history and chronology.

[13] Sylvain Lévi [*L'Inde Civilisatrice*, p. 196] thinks that the Chinese translation recalls the name of Candragupta and holds that it is by mistake that it was used for the king of India reigning at that time, who was, as a matter of fact, his son Kumāragupta, But in the light of Vāmana's information

Besides this embassy of 428 A.D. another was sent in 466 A.D. when the Song emperor gave the Indian king the title which is translated as "the general who solidly established his authority." This title was perhaps a befitting tribute to the gallant exploits of Skandagupta. In 502 A.D. again a third embassy brought a royal message with suitable presents from the Indian king Kiu-to (gupta) to the court of the Leang who succeeded the Song at Nanking. About the same time between 500 and 509 A.D. a fourth embassy visited the court of the Wei or T'o-pā at Lo-yang and presented a horse.[14] These repeated visits of Indian embassies to the Imperial Court in China were most probably pregnant with the political motive of seeking the alliance of China against the peoples of Central Asia, specially the Yue-che, that were menacing the safety of the Gupta empire in the north-west. We do not know if these embassies achieved any tangible purpose but we are well aware of the movements of nomadic peoples in Central Asia after 428 A.D., the date of the visit of the first Indian embassy at Nanking, which resulted in great turmoil on the north-western frontiers of India and unleashed a new round of invasions in the plains of the Punjab and the Gangetic valley.

At the beginning of the fifth century A.D. the empire of the Steppes passed into the hands of the Mongol clan Ju-juan, disparagingly called by the Chinese Juan-juan "the disagreeably moving insects."[15] About 402 A.D. one of their chiefs named Shö-luen subjugated the rival horde of Kao-kiu, who were the ancestors of the Tölash and Üighur Turks and inhabited the regions of Kobdo and Urungu. In a very short time they came to dominate the whole of the Northern Gobi from Leao-ho on the Korean frontier in the east to Irtysh and the approaches of Qarashahr in the west. Among the vassals of the Juan-juan was a Turko-Mongol tribe of the Hūṇas called Ye-ta by Chinese historians, Hayathelites by the Persian histo-

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that the name of the son of Candragupta was Candraprakāśa, the association of the name translated in Chinese as "beloved of the moon" with Kumāragupta presents no difficulty. As for the difference of meaning in Prakāśa (light) and beloved, it may be due to an accidental inadvertence of the Chinese translator.

[14] Sylvain Lévi, *L'Inde Civilisatrice*, pp. 196-197.

[15] René Grousset, *L'Empire des Steppes*, p. 104.

rian Mirkhund and Hephthalites by the Byzantine historians.[16] In fact the clan of Ye-ta was ruling over the tribe named Hua and gave its name to these people. In the second quarter of the fifth century these Hephthalites were pushing towards the west as a result of the pressure exercised on their rear by other tribes following the commotion among the Juan-juan caused by the defeats inflicted on them by the Wei monarch of Northern China T'o-pa Tao in 424 A.D. and 429 A.D. Gradually their domination extended over the valley of the Illi upto Balkash, the basin of the Issyk-kul, the Steppes of Chu and Talas and the region of the Sir Sarya (Jaxartes) up to Aral. This westward expansion of the Hephthalites brought them into conflict with the Sassanids. Their invasion of Khurassān was repelled by Bahram Gor (420 438 A.D.) who inflicted a crushing defeat on them in the battle of Kusmehan near Merv.[17] The invasion of the Hephthalites occurred in the wake of their crossing of the Jaxartes into Sogdiana and Bactriana and the resultant dislocation of the peoples settled there. That a pronounced Sogdian element had mixed with the Hephthalites is manifest from the fact that their king, who invaded Iran under Peroz (459-484 A.D.) and killed him, is called in Persian and Arabic histories Akhshunwar, Akhshuvān or Khushnuvāz. In the Iranian work *Bundahishn* (ed. Anklesaria p. 215) this word reads as Khshunvāz. According to Müller all these variant readings are based on the Sogdian word "Khshevān" meaning a king.[18]

The regions of Sogdiana and Bactriana were peopled from fairly early times by different branches of the Scythians. In the second century B.C. there was a great commotion in Central Asia following the expulsion of the Hiung-nu ("ferocious slaves") from China by Mong T'ien, the general of T'sin She Huang-ti (221-210 B.C.). The completion of the Great Wall in 244-215 B.C. and the chasing away of the Hiung-nu from the Ordos region in 214 B.C., diverted their movement towards the west. In the result they overthrew the Yue-che living between Tun-huang and K'i-lien in the Kan-su province in the north-west of China. About 177-176 B.C. their Shan-yu Mao-tuen inflicted a defeat on the Yue-che and his successor Lao-shang (174-161 B.C.) killed their king and drove them from Kan-su. A small fraction of the Yue-che went to the south of Nan-shan and settled among the K'iang and came to be known as Siao Yue-che (little Yue-che); but their main body known as Ta Yue-che plunged into northern Gobi and fell upon the Wu-suen, the ancestors of the Alains, and the Śai-wang, the Śaka-muruṇḍas of Indian geneologies,[19] settled in the valley of the Illi and the basin of the Issyk-kul. But their victory over the Wu-suen and settlement in the territory occupied by them proved temporary, for the Wu-suen with the assistance of the Hiung-nu defeated and drove them from there. Hence the Yue-che resumed their westward course and reached the upper reaches of the Syr-darya forming the province of Ferghana where the *Ts'ien Han-shu* marks their arrival. From there these people with other cognate tribes moved into Sogdiana and Bactriana, the country known to the Chinese as Ta Hia, which Marquart and Pelliot phonetically equate with Tukhāra.[20] Ta Hia was governed by a certain number of Hi-heu (yab-ghu) of which the Chinese have known five—those of the northern and north-eastern part of the country. These Hi-heu became the vassals of the Ta Yue-che. A time came when the Hi-heu of Kuei-shuang, K'ieu-tsieu-k'io (K'ieu-tsieu-kie) Khuzulakadphises siezed the territories of other Hi-heu and substituted his power for that of the Ta Yue-che, calling himself the king of Kuei-shuang. Pelliot holds that the Hi-heu referred to above, particularly that of Kuei-shuang, were the Ta Hia and not the Ta Yue-che. According to him, the Kuei-shuang were called by the Chinese Ta Yue-che after they had taken the place of the latter. This nomenclature was faulty for the data of the *Heu Han-shu* are at variance with those of the *Ts'ien Han-shu*.[21]

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[16] These people are called Hēftālān in the Iranian *Bundahishn*, Hep‘t‘al in Armenian, Hētal in Persian and Haiṭal in Arabic vide Bailey, *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies* (1232), p. 946 *et seq.*

[17] J. Marquart [*Eranschahr, nach der Geographie des Ps. Moses Xorenac‘i,* p. 57], however, thinks that the Huns who invaded the Sassanid empire and fought with Bahram Gor and his successor Yazdegird II were the Khionites rather than the Hephthalites. But under Peroz (459-484 A.D.) it was undoubtedly the Hephthalties who invaded Iran.

[18] F.W.K. Müller, *Soghdische Texte*, I, p. 108.

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[19] Sten Know, *Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum*, vol II (introduction), pp. 29-30.

[20] Paul Pelliot, *Tokharien et Koutchéen*, *Journal Asiatique* (1934), pp. 39-40.

[21] P. Pelliot, *ibid.*, p. 38; Haneda Toru, *À Propos des Ta-Yue-Tche et des Kouei-chouang*, *Bulletin de la Maison Franco-Japonaise* (1933), p. 13.

The resurgence of these peoples is clearly referred to in Greek works. Strabo (XI, 511) states that between 140 and 130 B.C. the Asioi, Pasianoi, Tokharoi and Sakarauli seized the province of Bactriana from the Greek ruler Heliocles. Jarl Charpentier identifies the Asioi, called Asianoi by Pompeius Trogus, with the Wu-suen of the Chinese historians[22] and W. W. Tarn takes them to be the Yue-che themselves.[23] It is interesting to note that Pompeius Trogus observes that the Asioi were the lords of the Tochari.[24] It is likely that they may have been the Ṛṣikas (Asi, in Prākrit) mentioned in the *Mahābhārata*.[25] As for the Pasianoi, they are identified by Tarn with the

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O. Francke also holds that the Tukhāras represent the residents of the country called T'u-huo-lo by Hiuan T'sang, who were the friends of the Yue-che. [O. Francke, *Beiträge aus Chinesischen Quellen Zur Kenntniss der Türkvölker und Skythen Zentralasiens*, p. 24]. Lassen, Richthofen and Grousset, on the other hand, accept the identification of the Tukhāras with the Yue-che. Sir Aurel Stein discusses this question in detail, but leaves it open. [*Serindia*, p. 287]

[22] Jarl Charpentier, *Die Ethnographische Stellung der Tocharer, Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft*, vol. 71 (1917), pp. 357-361.

[23] W. W. Tarn, *The Greeks in Bactria and India*, p. 283.

[24] W. W. Tarn, *op. cit.*, p. 286.

[25] *Mahābhārata*, II (Sabhāparvan) 24, 24-25.

लोहान्परमकाम्बोजानृषिकानुत्तरानपि ।
सहितॉस्तान्महाराज व्यजयत्पाकशासनिः ॥
ऋषिकेषु तु सग्रामो बभूवाति भयङ्करः ।
तारकामयसंकाशः परमर्षिकपार्थयोः ॥

P. Pelliot holds that the Tokharoi or Tukhāras were the Ta Hia, who were governed by a certain number of hi-heu (Yabghu) of which the Chinese have known five and among which the hi-heu of Kuei-shuang (Kuṣāṇa) became prominent, seized the domains of all other hi-heus and established their suzerainty in place of the Ta Yue-che. Pelliot also shows that the Ta Hia and especially the Kuei-shuang were different from the Ta Yue-che and were called by the latter name in Chinese works simply because they had taken their place. [*Tokharien et Koutchéen, Journal Asiatique* (1934), p. 36] We have seen that according to P. Trogus, the Asioi were the lords of the Tochari. If the Tochari are identical with the Ta Hia, the Asii should be the same as the Kuei-shuang, who beame the lords of the Ta Hia. Thus the ṛsikas (Asii) seem to represent the Kuṣāṇas (Kuei-shuang). In this connection it is interesting to note that in Indian literature and inscriptions the ṛsikas (Asi, in Prākṛt) are placed somewhere in the south near Aśmaka and Vidarbha. [cp. Nāsik cave

Parśua of Eranvej[25], but it is also probable that they are the same as the Paramarṣikas of the Great Epic.[26] As regards the Tokharoi, they are the Ta-hia as shown by Pelliot. The Sakarauli are undoubtedly the Śakas. In spite of the different views about the identification of these tribes, given above, the fact remains that they represent various ramifications of the same branch of the Indo-European people who replaced the Greek rule in Bactria.

As a result of the pressure of the Yue-che and other tribes the Śakas broke towards the south-west, glided down the passes of the mountains called Hiuan-tu by the Chinese, which are identified by Sylvain Lévi with the ranges of the Hindukush, and penetrated into India.[27]

In the wake of these movements many other tribes emigrated and settled in the valley of the Oxus and the Jaxartes. One such tribe was the K'ang-kiu, which are probably the Kaṅkas of the Indian writers. They occupied the Sogdian regions around Samarcand or Marcanda, called K'ang-kiu, by the Chinese. In the second century B.C. when the Chinese traveller Chang K'ien visited the states of the west on an embassy to the Yue-che (the name given by the Chinese to the Tukharas as seen above), he first reached the kingdom of Ferghana (Ta-wan), then went to Samarcand (Kang-kiu) and thence repaired to the country of Ta Yue-che. He describes the K'ang-kiu as nomads with manners and customs very much the same as those of the Yue-che and living under their political influence[28]. In the fourth

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Inscription of Gautamīputra Śātakarṇi line 2: असिक-असक-मुढक-सुरठ-कुकुरापरत-अनुप-विदभ-आकरावतिराजस (Sir R. G. Bhandarkar, *Collected Works*, vol. I, p. 231); *Rāmāyaṇa*, Kiṣkindhākāṇḍa, 41; 10 विदर्भानृषिकाँश्चैव रम्यान्माहिषकानपि ; *Kāśikā* on IV, 2, 132 ऋषिकेषु जातः आर्षिकः, महिषकेषु जातः माहिषिकः] This position of the ṛṣikas accords well with the finding of Sylvain Lévi that the Kuṣāṇas had much to do with the south under Kaniṣka. (*Kaniṣka et Sātavāvana, Journal Asiatique* (1936), pp. 61-121]. Thus the identification of the Ṛṣikas with the Kuṣāṇas appears sound.

[25] W. W. Tarn, *op. cit.*, p. 292.

[26] Moti Chandra, *Geographical and Economic Studies in the Mahābhārata*, p. 19.

[27] Sylvain Lévi, *L'Inde Civilisatrice*, p. 89.

[28] Édouard Chavannes, *Mémoires de Sse-ma-Ts'ien*, I, LXXI—LXXII Friedrich Hirth, *The Story of Chang K'ien, China's Pioneer in Western Asia, Journal of the American Oriental Society*, vol. 37 (1917), p. 96.

century A.D. these K'ang-kiu produced eminent Buddhist scholars who took an important part in the translation of Buddhist works in Chinese. The most famous among them was K'ang Seng-hui (Kaṅka Sanghabhadra) who founded a strong Buddhist school in South China.

This south to north position of the Śakas, the Yue-che and the K'ang-kiu very closely agrees with the juxtaposition of the Śakas, Tukhāras and Kaṅkas in the *Mahābhārata*.[29]

In the fifth century A. D. the political geography of the valley of the Oxus was more or less the same. In Bactria, the Tukhāra clan of the Kidarites was established between Balkh and Merv. This clan derived its name from the eponymous hero Kidāra transcribed in Chinese as Ki-to-lo.[30] The son of Kidāra was Kungkas. Iranian sources refer to the wars of the Kidarites with the Sassanid sovereigns of Iran. According to these sources, the Sassanid King Yazdegird II took up arms against the Kidarites and Peroz (459-484) fought first with Kidāra and then with his son Kungkas. But Peroz tried to make peace with Kungkas and offered to him the hand of his sister. Peroz was at war with the Byzantine emperor and had also to repel the invasions of the Saragures and other barbaric peoples who had penetrated into Armenia through the passes of the Caucasus. Hence Peroz wanted to stop the war against the Kidarites. But according to the Persian sources the hostilities continued and beaten by Peroz the Kidarites quitted Bactria and migrated to the south occupying Gandhāra.[31] The vacuum thus created was soon filled by the Hephthalites.

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[29] *Mahābhārata*, II, 47, 26.

शकास्तुखाराः कङ्काश्च रोमशाः शृङ्गिणो नराः ।
महागमान्दूरगमान्गणितानर्बुदं हयान् ॥

[30] Paul Pelliot, *Tokharien et Koutchéen*, *Journal Asiatique* (1934), p. 42.

That Ki-to-lo (Kidāra) is a dynastic name appears from the fact that in the Chinese annals *Pei-she*, a king of the Ta Yue-che, Ki-to-lo is said to have been invaded and pushed back by the Juan-juan and in the same work on the very next page, a Ki-to-lo is said to have been pressed westward by the Hiung-nu. Again Kiu-to-lo is the name of a country whose ambassador visited China in 477 together with the ambassadors of Western India (Si-t'ien-chu) and Śrāvasti according to Wei-shu. This shows that in course of time the name of the dynasty came to designate the country in which it lived and ruled.

[31] J. Marquart, *Erānschahr nach der Geographie des Ps. Moses Xorenac'i*, pp. 55-57-58; A. Christensen, *L'Iran sous les Sassinides*, pp. 287-288.

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Chinese sources give an earlier date for these events. In the chapter of the *Pei-she* on "the countries of the west" which has replaced the original chapter on this subject in the *Wei-shu* and which goes back to the epoch of the Wei, there is a remark on Ta Yue-che and their King Ki-to-lo (Kidāra) who, pressed by the Juan-juan, emigrated to the city of Po-lo (Balkh) and thence invaded Northern India, reducing to vassalage Gandhāra and the four kingdoms situated to its north. On the next page of the *Pei-she*, there is another notice of Ki-to-lo, the king of Ta Yue-che, who having migrated westwards under the pressure of the Hiung-nu, ordered his son to occupy the city called Fu-leu-sha (Puruṣapura) that was the seat of the Siao Yue-che. Aa a result of occupying the country of the Siao Yue-che, the kingdom of the son of Ki-to-lo was also called by the name of Siao Yue-che. This information reached China through the merchants of the country of Ta Yue-che, who went to the court of T'ai-wu (424-451 A. D.) with some embassy of the western countries between 436 and 451 A. D and popularized the manufacture of polychrome glass in China.[32] This shows that the invasion and settlement of the Kidarites on the north-western frontiers of India took place before the middle of the fifth century.

The information given by the Chinese sources appears more correct in this respect since the trend of the history of Central Asia in the fifth century A.D., outlined above, suggests that it was under the pressure of the Hephthalites rather than the Sassanids that the Kidarites migrated towards the south and entered into India.

We have seen that the Hephthalites occupied Bactriana and attacked Khurassān during the reign of Bahram Gor and that he had to resist and defeat them at Kusmehan. If we hold that it was under Peroz that the Kidarites were driven out of Bactria, we would fail to explain how the Hephthalites could invade the Sassanid empire in the life-time of Bahram Gor while the route of Bactria was held and barred by the Kidarites. It was, in fact, necessary for them to occupy Bactria before coming into clash with Persia. The earlier history of Central Asia of the time of the movements of the Yue-che is a pointer to this fact. Besides this, Peroz was desirous of making

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[32] Paul Pelliot, *Tokharien et Kutchéen*, *Journal Asiatique* (1934), pp. 42-43.

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peace with the Kidarites. He was too busy in the west to continue the war against the Kidarites. Hence the theory of the migration of the Kidarites under Kungkas as a result of the pressure of the Sassanids does not bear scrutiny, and we are justified in accepting the version of the Chinese sources in preference to the information given by Persian writers.

On entering into India through the passes of the Hindukush, the Kidarites supplanted their cousins who were settled in Gandhāra and had allied themselves with the Sassanids. But the Hephthalites pushed downwards under the pressure of the Sassanids and came on the heels of the Kidarites to India. The Kidarites were thus pressed forward from the regions of Gandhāra and the result was their invasion of the plains of the Punjab and the Gangetic valley.

The pressure of nomadic movements in Central Asia seems to have given a new orientation to Sassanian politics. The Sassanids strengthened their alliance with the Kidarite-Kuṣāṇas after their settlement in Gandhāra as we infer from the presence of the Pahlavis, the official name of the Sassanids, in the Kuṣāṇa hordes that invaded India. The alliance of the Sassanids and the Kidarites is also hinted at by the traditions of the proposal of the Sassanid king Peroz of marrying his sister to the Kidarite king Kungkas that are recorded by Persian writers.

The empire of Kumāragupta was shaken at that time by the rebellion of the Puṣyamitras of the Nerbudda valley. Hence the Kuṣāṇa-Sassanids found a good opportunity of plunging into India.

The details of this invasion of the Kuṣāṇa-Sassanids are given in the *Candragarbha-paripṛchā-sūtra* which has been cited by the Tibetan historian Bu-ston in his *History of the Buddhist Doctrine*. The relevant passage reads as follows:

"King Mahendrasena was born in the country of Kauśāmbī, had a son with arms of irresistible might. After he had passed the age of twelve, Mahendra's kingdom was invaded upon by three foreign powers in concert—Yavanas, Palhikas (Pahlikas) and Śakunas—who first fought among themselves. They took possession of Gandhāra and the countries to the north of the Ganges. The young son of Mahendrasena, of weighty hands and other congenital military marks distinguishing his person asked for permission to lead his father's army. The enemy army numbered three hundred thousand men under the cammands of the foreign kings, the chief of whom was the Yavana. The son of Mahendra put his army of two hundred thousand men divided under five hundred commanders, sons of ministers and other orthodox Hindus. With extraordinary quickness and a terrible drive he charged the enemy. In fury his veins on the forehead appeared like a visible mark and his body became steeled. The prince broke the enemy army and won the battle. On his return his father crowned him king saying: 'henceforth rule the kingdom' and himself retired to religious life. For twelve years after this the new king fought these foreign enemies and ultimately captured and executed the three kings. After that he ruled peacefully as the Emperor of Jambu-dvīpa''[33].

In this passage the association of the Yavanas, Palhikas and Sakunas is significant from the historical point of view. The Palhikas and Śakunas are evidently the Sassanids and Kuṣāṇas (Kidarites) who had come close to each other. The Yavanas represent the Ionian element which was introduced in Iran in Achaemenian times. It is noteworthy that the famous poet of the fifth century A.D. Kālidāsa refers to the Yavanas in connection with the expedition of Raghu against the Pārasīkas[34]. [Yavanīmukhapadmānām sehe madhumadam na saḥ] These Yavanas had domiciled in the Middle-East and had mixed up with the Iranians. Most probably they included the descendants of the Bactrian Greeks who were overthrown and subjugated by the Śakas and Kuṣāṇas in course of their western migrations. These peoples had quarrelled among themselves before their descent on the Indian plains. We have seen that Kungkas led the Kuṣāṇas expelled by the Huṇas from Bactriana into Gandhāra. There he fought with the Kuṣāṇas who were already settled in those regions. Obviously, therefore, there was a clash between the new-comers and the Kuṣāṇas of the Gandhāra region. But the pressure of the Huṇas drew them closer[35] and drove them towards the interior of India.

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[33] Cited by K. P. Jayaswal, *An Imperial History of India*, p. 36.

[34] *Raghuvaṁśa*, IV, 60 ff.

[35] It has been noted above that the Chinese text *Pei-she* calls Ki-to-lo the king of Ta Yue-che and describes his son settled in Fu-leu-sha as the king of Siao Yue-che. Pelliot has shown that neither Ki-to-lo and his son nor the Kuṣāṇas belonged to the Ta Yue-che. They were the Ta-Hia or T'u-hu-lo. Since the Kuṣāṇas came to dominate the Ta Yue-che, they themselves became

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King Mahendrasena, who is obviously identical Kumāragupta Mahendrāditya, entrusted the defence of the country to his valiant son Skandagupta who resisted the invaders and routed them from the country inflicting on them a crushing defeat.

The king who led the Kuṣāṇas into India was obviously the son of Ki-to-lo, who is called Kungkas in Persian histories, as seen above. This name Kungkas seems to have been adapted to suit a pun in a verse by Subandhu in his *Vāsavadattā*[36]. In this verse the author refers to the rule of the Kaṅkas after that of Vikramāditya. Here the word Kaṅka signifies both a heron and the king who came after Vikramāditya. To have this two-fold meaning the author has

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known as Ta Yue-che. But after the cessation of relations with the West in the latter half of the third century, the Chinese forgot everything about the Ta Yue-che. Hence Kumārajīva in his Chinese translation of the great commentary of the *Prajñā-Pāramitā* (Ta-che-tu-luen) mentioned Ta-k'ia-lo which is a transcription of Tukhāra and explained this term as signifying the Little Yue-che. [Sylvain Lévi, *Fragments de Textes Koutchéens* (introduction) pp. 24-25] Again in his translation of the *Life of Aśvaghoṣa*, completed in 412 A.D, he rendered Tukhāra by the term Siao Yue-che, since it was the only expression that was understood in China in his time. Staël-Holstein believes that Kaniṣka did, in fact, belong to the Siao Yue-che who had come from Chinese Turkestan and Kumārajiva gave the aforesaid rendering with full awareness of the true state of affairs. From this point of view the reference to the son of Ki-to-lo as the king of Siao Yue-che signifies that he conquered the successors of Kaniṣka settled in Peshawar in virtue of which he bore their designation. But Pelliot rejects the view of Staël-Holstein and holds that the description of Ki-to-lo as Ta Yue-che and of his son as Siao Yue-che is simply intended to accommodate the information about these two clans, which the merchants of the Yue-che country suddenly released between 436 and 451 [Pelliot, *op. cit.*, p. 45]. Whatever may be the true import of these designations, the fact remains that according to the Chinese annalist there was some difference between the peoples over whom Ki-to-lo and his son respectively ruled. In other words the Yue-che over whom the son of Ki-to-lo ruled were different from those to whom his father belonged. Thus the conclusion cannot be escaped that the son of Ki-to-lo conquered another branch of his tribe settled in the north-west of India. This internecine conflict is indicated by the remarks of the *Candra-garbha-paripṛcbā-sūtra* that the Kuṣāṇa invaders fought *inter se* before coming into India

[36] Subandhu, *Vāsavadattā* (ed. Hall), p. 7.

सा रसवत्ता विहता नवका विलसन्ति चरन्ति नु कङ्काः ।
सरसीव कीर्तिशेषं गतवति भुवि विक्रमादित्ये ॥

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slightly altered the word Kungkas to Kaṅka. Besides this, we have some evidence to show that the K'ang-kiu of Sogdiana who are mentioned in the *Mahābhārata* as Kaṅkas and juxtaposed with the Śakas and Tukharas some time entered into India and still constitute an element of the population of the Punjab. We find a tribe of the Jāts called Kang living in the angle of the Beas and the Sutlej. These Kangs are spread up to Ferozpur and Ambala and are found all along the banks of the Sutlej and even on the Lower Indus. These Kang-Jāts have a tradition that they migrated from Garh-Gazni[37]. It may well be that the history of their migration and settlement in the Punjab is implicit in the reference to the coming of the Kaṅkas into India after the death of Vikramāditya made in the aforesaid verse of Subandhu's *Vāsavadattā*. In this verse the word 'Kaṅka' thus appears to have a three-fold significance, meaning a heron, the king Kungkas, who came after Vikramāditya and the tribe of the Kankas, that invaded India together with the Kidarites. Should this view be correct, we would find in the invasion of the Kaṅkas referred to by Subandhu a reminiscence of the coming of the Kaṅkas into India in association with the Kuṣāṇas, to whom they were related, under the leadership of Kungkas. An indication of the association of the Kaṅkas with the Kuṣāṇas and Sassanids is probably given in a verse of the *Mahābhārata*, which groups them with the Śakas and Tukhāras on one hand and the Pahlavas and Madrakas on the other[38]. This invasion of the Kaṅkas, Kuṣāṇas and Pahlavas ruffled the peace and placidity which India enjoyed after the extermination of the Kuṣāṇas by Candragupta Vikramāditya in the last quarter of the fourth century A.D. and exerted a damaging influence on the cultivation of arts and letters as the observations of Subandhu demonstrate.

The wars of Skandagupta are laconically referred to in his Bhitari and Junāgarh inscriptions. The fourth verse of the Bhitari inscription[39] refers to the coronation of Skandagupta after his victory over the Puṣyamitras, a variant reading being Yudhyamitras[40], who are probably identical with the tribe of the Puṣyamitras associated in the *Viṣṇupurāṇa* with the region of Mekala near the source of the Narbudda[41]. The seventh verse[42] of this inscription refers to the "conquest of the earth" made by Skandagupta and the eighth verse[43] relates to his victory over the Hūṇas. It appears that the invasion of the Kuṣāṇas was different from that of the Hūṇas. In the account of the invasion of the Kuṣāṇas (Śakunas) given in the *Candragarbha-paripṛchā-sūtra* the Hūṇas are not mentioned, the identification of the Yavanas referred to in it with the Hūṇas suggested by K. P. Jayaswal being quite speculative[44]. The trend of history shows that the irruption of the Hūṇas in Gandhāra resulted in the expulsion and pushing down of the Kuṣāṇas to the interior of India. Thus the Kuṣāṇas preceded the Hūṇas into India. The allusion to the war of Skandagupta with the Hūṇas distinctly from his other victories amounting to his "conquest of the earth" in the Bhitari inscription may be an indication of the fact that the inroad of the Hūṇas was different from and later than the Kuṣāṇa invasion. It may also be noted that Somadeva in his *Kathāsaritsāgara* includes Nirmūka, the king of the Persians, among the vassals of Vikramāditya, son of Mahendrāditya[45], who is undoubtedly identical with Skandagupta Vikramāditya. The vassalage of the Persian king is a reminiscence of the victory of Skandagupta over the Kuṣāṇa-Sassanids mentioned above. But in the turmoil caused by the defeat of the Kuṣāṇas (Kidarites and Sassanids) the Hūṇas of Gandhāra also swooped southwards, came into conflict with the Jartas, who seem to be identical with the Jartikas (modern Jāts) of Śākala (modern Sialkot) mentioned in the *Mahābhārata*[46], as we learn from a grammatical illustration given by Candragomin[47]. But Skandagupta was again equal to the occasion and repelled the Hūṇas from the country.

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[37] Ibbetson, *The Tribes and Castes of Punjab and North-western Province*, p. 233.

[38] Śāntiparvan, IXV, 2429.

[39] J. F. Fleet, *Copus Inscriptionum Indicarum*, vol. III, no 13, verse 4.
विचलितकुललक्ष्मीस्तम्भनायोद्यतेन क्षितितलशयनीये येन नीता त्रियामा ।
समुदितबलकोषान् पुष्यमित्राँश्च जित्वा क्षितिपचरणपीठे स्थापितो वामपादः ॥

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[40] H. K. Divekar, *Puṣyamitras in the Gupta Period*, *Annals of the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute* (1920), pp. 99ff.

[41] *Viṣṇupurāṇa*, IV, 24, 17. The commentator of the *Viṣṇupurāṇa* distinguishes the Puṣyamitras from the seven Mekaḷas. Hence they may have occupied the region between the Māhiṣyas and Mekala in the Nerbudda valley, if not Mekala itself. [H. C. Raychoudhury, *Political History of Ancient India*, 5th ed., p. 569]

[42] J. F. Fleet, *op. cit.*, verse 7.

स्वैर्दण्डैः ˘˘ र (?) त्यु-त् प्रचलितं वंशं प्रतिष्ठाप्य यो
बाहुभ्यामवनिं विजित्य हि जितेष्वार्त्तेषु कृत्वा दयां-
न्नोत्सिक्तो न च विस्मितः प्रतिदिनं संवर्धमानद्युतिः
गीतैश्च स्तुतिभिश्च वन्दकजनो यं प्रापयत्यार्यताम् ।।

[43] J. F. Fleet, *op. cit.*, verse 8.

हूणैर्यस्य समागतस्य समरे दोर्भ्यां धरा कम्पिता। भीमावर्त्तकरस्य शत्रुषु शरा विरचितं···
...प्रख्यापितो ।

[44] K. P. Jayaswal, *An Imperial History of India*, p. 36.

[45] *Kathāsaritsāgara*, II, 563 ff.

The Kuṣāṇas driven away for good from India by the young prince Skandagupta in the closing years of the reign of Kumāragupta probably between 451 and 455, took refuge in the mountainous retreats of ths north-west. Towards 475 they repaired to the valleys of Chitral and Gilgit and descended from there after the defeat of the Hūṇas in the sixth century and reoccupied their earlier habitat of Gandhāra on some parts of which they kept their possession up to the ninth century[48]. Thus their part in Indian history came to an end. But they left indelible traces on the people and culture of India. The Kidarites seem to have left an imprint in Sanskrit grammatical literature. The *Kāśikā* commentary on the grammar of Pāṇini refers to the gold coins called *Kedāra*, which may signify the currency of the Kidarites[49]. Likewise, the Kaṅkas mixed with the people of India and are now represented by the Kang-Jāts mentioned above.

BUDDHA PRAKASH

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46 Karṇaparvan, 44, 10 जर्त्तिका नाम वाहीकास्तेषां वृत्तं सुनिन्दितम्

47 *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society* (*London*) (1909), pp. 88 ff. The illustration in question is अजयज्जर्तो हूणान्. In this example the reading 'jarta' is not settled. S. K. Belvelkar has amended it as Gupta. [*Systems of Sanskrit Grammar*, p. 58] In a commentary on the *Siddha-Hemacandra-Śabdānuśasana* of Hemacandra entitled *Siddhaprabha* this illustration is cited as अजैषीद् गर्तो हूणान् [*Indian Historical Quarterly* (1953), p. 181] Though the text is, thus, uncertain, we may tentatively accept the reading 'jarta' as it accords with the name of the tribe 'jartika' given in the *Mahābhārata*.

48 Louis de la Vallée-Poussin, *L'Inde anx temps des Mauryas et des Barbares, Grecs, Scyths, Parthes et Yue-Tche*, p, 318.

49 V. S. Agrawala, *India as known to Pāṇini*, p. 261.

Fortifications of Cities in Ancient India

A characteristic feature of the ancient Indian cities was the method of their defence. It was considered to be essential, because life and residence in ancient India was insecure due to the bad political conditions. There were frequent political disturbances and hence provision of defence became indispensable to ancient Indian cities as well as to the villages. The method of the defence or the fortification of these cities can broadly be divided into two categories, namely (1) Natural fortification (Akṛtrima Durga) and (2) artificial fortification (Kṛtrima Durga). In case of natural fortification, defence was provided to the cities by their situation near the deserts, rivers, mountains and the sea. We find that most of the ancient Indian cities were situated on the banks of a river or sea-coast, e.g., Ayodhyā[1], Mathurā[2], Dvārakā[3], Kośāmbī, Pāṭaliputra and others. In this case they were provided with a natural defence by water. The ancient city of Girivraja, can also be cited as a beautiful example of "Akṛtrima Durga". It was guarded by a cluster of close set five[4] hills with high peaks, e.g., Vairāha, Vārāha, Vṛṣabha, Ṛṣigiri, and Subhāścaitya[5]. Kauṭilya divides natural fortifications into seven kinds, namely, (1) Jala-durga, (2) Sthala-durga, (3) Parvata-durga, (4) Prastara-durga, (5) Guha-durga, (6) Dhanvan-durga and (7) Vana-durga. He says that water fort is rendered difficult of access for its situation near water. A mountain-fort is rendered difficult of access for its situation near a mountain. A vana-fort is situated near a forest, it is defended by a thick jungle on all sides. A prastara-durga is defended by a rocky track. A guha-durga is encircled by a range of hillocks[6]. Of these natural fortifications, water fortifications, and mountain-fortifications appear to have been the most in vogue, because most of the capital cities of ancient India as we have seen above, were either situated on the bank of a river or near a mountain. Śukrācārya bears testimony to their popularity. He says, "Of these, water and forest fortifications are best suited to defend populous centres, whereas desert and forest fortifications are habitations in the wilderness".[7] But natural fortifications alone were not considered sufficient for the defence of the towns due to frequent political disturbances. For further defence, artificial fortifications proved quite necessary. Artificial fortification was done by three methods (1) by the construction of walls, (2) by the construction of trenches, and (3) by plantation of forest. This method of defence was not only common to ancient Indian cities, but also to the ancient Greek and Roman towns. The cities of Greece and Italy, like Florence, Sparta, Athens and Rome, were fortified by walls and trenches.

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[1] *Rāmāyaṇa*, Bālakāṇḍa, Canto V, line 10.

[2] *Harivaṁśa*, Harivaṁśaparva, ch. 54, line 120.

[3] *Harivaṁśa*, Viṣṇuparva, ch. 58, line 120.

[4] *Mahābhārata*, Sabhāparva, ch. 21, v 3.

[5] Ibid, v 2.

[6] "Of all quarters of the boundaries of the kingdom, defensive fortifications, against any emergency of war, shall be raised on grounds, rendered inapproachable by nature, a water-fort such as one of an island in the midst of

The ancient Indian cities were surrounded by walls at first. The Śilpaśāstras, Nītiśāstras, and Purāṇas lay great emphasis on the construction of walls around the cities. The author of the *Devīpurāṇa* says, "the construction of brick-built walls is indispensable in artificial forts.[8] The city walls were erected on ramparts. The ramparts were built by digging out mud from the ditches and heaping it on their banks. In the *Arthaśāstra* of Kauṭilya, we find the method of their construction. At a distance of four daṇḍas, from the innermost ditch, a rampart six daṇḍas high, and twice as much broad, was erected by piling mud upwards. It was made square at the bottom, oval at the centre and pressed by the trampling of elephants and bulls. Finally it was planted with thorny and poisonous plants in bushes. Fissures in the rampart were filled up with fresh earth.[9] As the

a river or of a plain, surrounded by a low ground, or morass in which water is stagnated, a mountain-fort, such as one surrounded by a rocky tract (prastara), or a fort in a valley in the midst of an encircling range of hillocks, a desert-fort such as a fort in the centre of a wild tract devoid of water, and even thickets or of a soil sterilized by desert, a forest fort such as a fort encompassed by many bogs and fens, interspersed with trees and bushes, or one girt round by thickly set tall trees and underwoods." *Arthaśāstra*, Book II, Ch. III.

[7] *Sukranītisāra*, ch. 4, sec. 6, lines 11-12.

[8] *Devīpurāṇa*, ch. 72, sl. 27.

[9] *Arthaśāstra*, (Jolly), vol. I, p. 31.
also compare Samarāṅgaṇa, Sūtra-dhāra, p. 40, sl. 19.

erection of ramparts and parapets was essential in connection with artificial fortification, we find that these constituted an integral part of every ancient Indian city. We learn from the *Rāmāyaṇa* how the city of Ayodhyā[10] was surrounded by a wall. Similarly the cities of Laṅkā[11], Indraprastha,[12] Dvārakā[13]-[14], Mathurā[15], Avanti[16], Pāṭaliputra, Madurā[17] and Conjeeveram,[18] were surrounded by strong built parapets. The number of walls was optional. It was generally one, but sometimes many. Kauṭilya advises the construction of more than one city-wall. He says that parapets in odd or even numbers, and with an intermediate space of 12 to 24 hastas, from each other should be built above the ramparts.[19] Megasthenes informs us that the city of Pāṭaliputra was surrounded by three walls. The walls were of fair height, for which, their defensive capacity was increased. Śukrācarya, while recommending height to the city walls says, "the wall of the town is to be made too high to be jumped across by robbers or enemies."[20] The *Devīpurāṇa* recommends a height of nine cubits. It says that the walls should be raised to nine hastas, according to the rules laid down by Muni.[21] Kauṭilya says, that the walls should be raised to a height twice their breadth.[22] The Brahmavaivarta Purāṇa says that "the maximum height should be twenty cubits (hastas), and a height loftier than that, is not conducive to good.[23]" It fixes the maximum height of the walls at twenty hastas, probably due to the fact that it would spread darkness in the city, especially in the neighbouring parts. Śukrācarya says that the wall of the town is to be uniform in depth, and should have its foundation to the extent of one-half or one-third of its height, and have its width one-half of its height.[24] In order to increase the defensive capactiy of the wall, Kauṭilya recommends some more devices. He recommends that outside the rampart, passages for movements should be closed by forming obstructions such as a knee-breaker, a trident, mounds of earth, pits, wreaths of thorns, instruments made like the tale of a snake, palm-leaf triangle, and of a dog's teeth, roads, ditches filled with thorns and covered with sand, frying pans, and water pools.[25] For strengthening fortifications, the walls were provided with deadly weapons. From the epics we learn that they were guarded by Śataghnīs (hundred-killers) and nālikāstras (barreled missiles). The *Rāmāyaṇa* says that Ayodhyā was protected with Śataghnis.[26] The city of Laṅkā was similarly defended by Śataghnīs and darts.[27] Likewise the city of Hastināpur was guarded by Śataghnīs.[28] The walls of the city of Indraprastha were furnished with numerous weapons of attack. They were covered with darts and missiles. They were furnished with thousands of sharp hooks and Śataghnīs and numerous other machines. The turrets along the walls were filled with armed men in course of training[29]. Probably these warriors were employed to use the weapons, when there arose an occasion for their use. In southern cities also the walls were provided with deadly weapons of attack. We are informed that on the battlements of the city of Vanji were mounted various mechanisms to throw missiles on those who attacked the fort[30]. In the centre of the walls there were constructed places to hold deadly weapons of offence and defence. Kauṭilya enumerates the names of such weapons as spades, axes, varieties of staffs, cudgels, hammers, clubs, discus, śataghnīs, spears, tridents and bamboo sticks with pointed edges made of iron. He also recommends the collection of stones in them. He gives a list of some instruments the nature and use of which is not at all clear, e.g., camel necks and explosives[31]. The city walls were also notable for certain other features. One such important feature was that they were furnished with towers at regular intervals. Kauṭilya recommends construction of towers square throughout, furnished with movable staircases or ladders[32]. He recommends an intermediate space, measuring thirty daṇḍas between two towers[33]. Kauṭilya is in favour of movable staircases or ladders; because the latter could be removed in the hour of emergency. He recommends a gap of thirty daṇḍas between two towers purposely. He wants in this space the formation of a broad street in two compartments covered with a roof and two and a half times as long as it is broad.[34] This street covered with a roof seems to be the place, where troops were stationed for the protection of the fort. The division of the street into two compartments is not clear. The other sources are also emphatic that the walls should be interspersed with towers (Aṭṭālikā); but they do not furnish us with any details of construction, e.g., *Matsya Purāṇa* says, "the fort should have ditches, girt with ramparts surrounded by towers on the walls[35]" *Harivaṁśa* bears testimony to the fact, how the city of Mathura was "decorated with ramparts and turrets on them[36]" Megasthenes records, how the wooden wall around the city of Paṭaliputra was crowned by five hundred and seventy towers.[37]. The use of towers seems to be manifold. Firstly they increased the beauty of the parapets. Due to them, the latter must have presented a sombre and grand appearance. Its value must also have been defensive as well. The army was stationed in them at a fair height, quite inaccessible to the enemies. The other feature of the city walls was the construction of gates in them. Megasthenes says that the city wall of Pāṭaliputra was pierced by sixty four gates[38]. These gates were closed and opened at fixed time. For defence, troops were also stationed quite close to them.[39]

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[10] *Rāmāyaṇa*, Bālakāṇḍa, Canto V, line 25.
[11] Sundarakāṇḍa, Canto 2, line 31.
[12] *Mbh.*, Ādiparva, ch. 227, line 120.
[13] *Ibid.*, Śāntiparva ch. 52, line 29.
[14] Viṣṇuparva, ch. 98, line 23.
[15] *Harivaṁśa* Parva, ch. 54, line 115.
[16] *Brahma Purāṇa*, ch. 41, line 49.
[17] Ayyar, *Town Planning in Ancient Deccan*, p. 38.
[18] *Ibid.*, p. 79.
[19] *Arthaśāstra*, (Jolly), vol. I, p. 31.
also compare Śamarāṅgaṇa Sūtradhāra, p. 41, sl. 25 (vol. I).
[20] *Sukranītiśāra*, chapter I, lines 474-76.
[21] *Devīpurāṇa*, chapter, 72, sl. 27.
[22] *Arthaśāstra*, Bk. II, chapter III, p. 55.
[23] *Brahmavaivarta-Purāṇa*, ch. 103, line 120.

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[24] *Śukranītisāra*, ch. I, lines 474-76.

[25] *Arthaśāstra*, (Jolly), vol. I, p. 32.
also compare *Samarāṅgaṇa Sūtradhāra*, vol. I, p. 40, sl. 24.

[26] Bālakāṇḍa, Canto 5.

[27] Sundarākāṇḍam, Canto 2, line 42.

[28] *Mbh.*, Ādiparva, ch. 96, line 108.

[29] *Ibid.*, ch. 227, sl. 63-64½.

[30] Ayyar, *Town Planning in Ancient Deccan*, p. 70.

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[31] *Arthaśāstra*, (Jolly), vol. I, p. 33

[32] *Arthaśāstra*, Bk. II, ch. 3, also compare *Samarāṅgaṇa Sūtradhāra*, vol. I, p. 64, v 31.

[33] *Arthaśāstra*, Bk. II, ch. IV, also compare *Samarāṅgaṇa Sūtradhāra*, vol. I, p. 41, v 31.

[34] *Arthaśāstra*, Bk. II, ch. 4.

[35] *Matsyapurāṇa*, ch. 217, sl. 8.

[36] *Harivaṁśa*, ch. 54, line 115.

[37] Fragment XXVI (McCrindle, *Ancient India as described by Megasthenes and Arrian*, p. 68).

Outside the walls, the cities were surrounded by ditches. The city of Ayodhyā[40] was surrounded by a deep moat as a result of which it was inaccessible to the enemies. Similarly the cities of Laṅkā[41], Indraprastha[42], Mathurā[43], Dvārakā[44]. Pāṭaliputra,[45] Avanti[46], Madura[47] and Vanji[48] were enclosed by ditches. The number of the ditches was not fixed. Generally it was one, but occasionally it was more than one. It changed according to circumstances. The city of Pāṭaliputra, according to Megasthenes, was surrounded by one ditch[49]. Kauṭilya lays down that the capital city should be surrounded by as many as three trenches[50]. *Devīpurāṇa* says that the number of ditches may be two, three, four or eight as the ground requires[51]. Mahā-Ummagga Jātaka says, that the city of Mithilā was surrounded by three trenches[52]. *Brahmavaivarta Purāṇa* says that the city of Dvārakā was surrounded by as many as seven moats[53]. The sides of the ditches were generally lined with bricks. Megasthenes says that the sides of the ditches of Pāṭaliputra were lined with bricks[54]. The trenches were to be of great magnitude in

[38] *Ibid*, p. 68.

[39] *Harivaṁśa*, Harivaṁsaparva, ch. 54.

[40] Bālakāṇḍa, Canto 5, line 25; *Viṣṇudharmottara Mahā Purāṇa*, ch. 13, line 2.

[41] *Sundarākāṇḍam*, Canto 2, line 26.

[42] Ādiparva, chapter 227, line 119.

[43] *Harivaṁśa*, Harivaṁśaparva, ch. 54, line 116.

[44] *Harivaṁśa*, Viṣṇuparva, ch. 98, line 22 ; *Brahmavaivarta-Purāṇa*, chapter 72, line 13.

[45] Fragment 26, McCrindle—*Ancient India as described by Megasthenes and Arrian*, p. 68.

[46] *Brahmapurāṇa*, ch. 41, line 50; *Navasahasāṅkacaritam*, Canto I, line 25.

[47] Ayyar, *Town Planning in Ancient Deccan*, p. 38.

[48] *Ibid*, p. 60.

[49] Fragment 26 (McCrindle, *Ancient India as described by Megasthenes*, p. 68.

[50] *Arthaśāstra*, (Jolly) vol. I, page, 31.

[51] *Devīpurāṇa*, chapter 71, v 28.

[52] *Mahaumaggajātaka*, No. 546 (The Jātaka, Bk. 22).

[53] *Brahmavaivartapurāṇa*, ch. 72 line 15.

[54] Fragment 26, (McCrindle, page 68),

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length, breadth and depth. The ditch around the city of Pāṭaliputra, was six hundred feet broad and fifty five feet deep[55]. The city af Dvārakā, was surrounded by ditches, which were as wide as the river Ganges or the ocean itself[56]. The city of Indraprastha was surrounded by ditches wide as the sea[57]. About the magnitude of the trenches, *Śukranīti-sāra* says that "the ditches should be constructed, making the width, double its depth[58]. On the magnitude of the trenches Kauṭilya is very clear. He says that the width of the ditch should be fourteen, twelve and ten daṇḍas respectively. The depth should be less by one quarter, or by one half of their width. They should be square at the bottom, and one-third as wide as their top[59]. The ditches of the city of Avantī were as wide and deep, as the river Jamunā itself[60].

The ditches were sometimes filled with water, sometimes with mud, and sometimes they were left empty. *Maha-ummaggajātaka*[61] bears testimony to the existence of three kinds of moats round the city of Mithila,—a water moat, a mud moat and a dry moat. Generally the ditches were filled with water. Mud-moats and dry moats were rare. Due to water moats, better defence was available. The water of the ditches was either stagnant or current. Kauṭilya lays emphasis on flowing water. He wants that the ditches should be connected with rivers. He says that "the ditches should be filled with perennial flowing water, or with water drawn from some other source[62]." *Brahmāṇḍapurāṇa* says that the ditches were excavated with their mouths connected with rivers[63]. In the water of these ditches, crocodiles, sharks and other ferocious watery animals were kept to check the enemy from crossing them[64]. We are told that the city of Vanji was surrounded by a water-moat, in which man-eating alligators of large size abounded[65]. Besides defensive purposes, the ditches were also used as sources of beauty. The city of Laṅkā was encircled by a moat, which was filled with lotuses[66]. The ditches of the city of Dvārakā, were full of water brimming with lotuses and cranes[67]. The ditches of the city of Avantī were full of water with lotuses and cranes floating over its surface[68]. The water of the ditch round the city of Madurā were crowned with beautiful waters, in which the chirping of birds never ceased[69]. Besides the sources of beauty they also served the purpose of sanitation. They received the drainage water of the city. According to the *Devīpurāṇa* the drains of the town should clear themselves in these ditches[70]. We are informed by Tamil sources that the ditch round the city of Vanji, received the drainage water of the city[71].

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[55] *Ibid.*, page 68.

[56] *Harivaṁśa*, Viṣṇuparva, ch. 98, line 22.

[57] *Mbh.*, Adiparva, ch. 227, line 119.

[58] *Sukranītisāra*, ch. 1, v 240.

[59] *Arthaśastra* (Jolly) vol. I. p. 31.

[60] *Nayaśābaśāṅkacaritam*, Canto I, line 36.

[61] *Maha-ummaggajātaka* no. 546.

[62] *Arthaśāstra*, Bk. II, chapter III.

[63] *Brahmāṇḍapurāṇa*, ch. 8, line 216.

[64] *Mbh.*, Śāntiparva, ch. 69, line 86.

For making fortification further strong there was built a broad belt of thorny jungles surrounding the ditches. The city of Ayodhyā, according to *Rāmāyaṇa*, was surrounded by a Sāla forest[72]. Similarly the city of Laṅkā was surrounded by forests[73]. Surrounding the city of Madurā the capital city of Pandyas, there was a thick jungle of thorny trees[74].

Udai Narain Roy

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[65] Ayyar, *Town Planning in Ancient Deccan*, p. 33.
[66] *Sundarākaṇḍam*, Canto 2, line 26.
[67] *Harivaṁśa*, Viṣṇuparva, ch. 98, line 21.
[68] *Navasahasāṅkacaritam*, Canto 1, sl. 18.
[69] Ayyar, *Town Planning in Ancient Deccan*, p. 34.
[70] *Devīpurāṇa*, ch. 72, line 55.
[71] Ayyar, *Town Planning in Ancient Deccan*, p. 62.
[72] *Rāmāyaṇa*, Bālakāṇḍa, Canto 5, line 24.
[73] Sundarākāṇḍa, Canto 2, line 11.
[74] Ayyar, *Town Planning in Ancient Deccan*, p. 25.

Apabhramsa and post-Apabhramsa Features in the early Prākrits

1. We have noted some Apabhraṁśa (abbr. Ap.) and post-Ap. forms in the early Prākrits (abbr. Pkt.), which are found in the Aśoka inscriptions, the Kharoṣṭhī inscriptions, the Prākrit Dhammapada, the Buddhist dramas discovered from Central Asia and the Buddhist Sanskrit texts. The occurrence of the Ap. forms in the early Pkt. documents has certainly got some bearing upon the Ap. problem, which has been a great source of contention among the scholars. It may be incidentally stated that various definitions of Ap. have been suggested by the scholars at different times and places, some of which directly contradict one other. So these Ap. forms with all their characteristics have been carefully noted in the present paper and how this fact has definitely contradicted a popular definition of Ap., has been briefly discussed. In preparing the present paper we consulted mainly the inscriptions of Aśoka, edited by Hultsch, the Kharoṣṭhī inscriptions edited by Sten Know, the Prākrit Dhammapada edited by B. M. Barua and S. N. Mitra, Die Brüchstücke der Buddhistischen Dramen, edited by Lüders and the *Lalitavistara* edited by Lefmann. The Aśoka inscriptions, as edited by Senart and translated by Grierson, were occasionally consulted, so also the edition of Jules Bloch. Now, though there were many other Buddhist Sanskrit texts, we chose only the *Lalitavistara* as the specimen of the Buddhist Sanskrit, because the text was earlier and contained much Pkt. elements, which were purposely avoided in the later works, chiefly, due to the activities of the learned Mahāyāna philosophers.

2. In Ap. *ṛ* was not assimilated contrary to the usage of the ordinary Pkts. (Hemacandra, Prākrit grammar IV 429) and so was *r* as the preceding or the following member of a conjunct (Hemacandra Pkt. gram. 398. *vādho ro luk*, vide also Jacobi—Sanatkumāracarita S. 2). Now in the Aśoka inscriptions we occasionally find this want of assimilation of both *r* and *ṛ*[1]. It may be interpreted

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[1] Prof. Bloch's observation on the point deserves consideration. He states: "Les inscriptions du Nord-Ouest témoignent d'une évolution spéciale

as the Ap. features in the Aśokan inscriptions; but the same cannot be done unhesitatingly because this state of non-assimilation may be quite rightly explained as Sanskritism, which could very easily be preserved in the early Pkts. of the inscriptions. Again, Hemacandra prescribes the development of an unetymological *r* by the sūtra "*abbhuto'pi kvacit*" (IV. 399) and cites Vrāsu for Vyāsa as an example. Now such development of an unetymological *r* is noticed frequently in the Khoroṣṭhī inscriptions. We quote a few of them below :

Ka>gra/kra, *kadalayigra*, *ṇatigra*, *saṁbha-tigra*, *naragra* (Wardak vase inscription) *samanumotrakra*, *nakrarakra* (Lion Capital).

ga>gra : *bhagrava* (Swāt Vase, Bimarān, Kurram, Wardak), *bhagra* (for bhaga, Wardak).

ga>kra : *bhakrava* (Lion Capital).

ṭa>ḍra : *ghaḍrigra* (Skt. ghaṭikā, Wardak).

ḍa>ḍra : *shaḍrayadana* (Kurram) *paḍriyaṁśae* (Wardak).

ḍha>ḍhra : *paḍhravi*, *praḍhravi* (Lion Capital).

ta>tra : *dhitra*, *matra*, *pitramahi*, *pratriṭhavitro*, *bhakravatro*, *chatru*, *niyatritro*, *ñavitrave*. Similarly we have *śivarakshitrasa*, *bhagravatra* (Bimarān) and *Pratiṭhavidra* (Swāt Vase).

The development of an unetymological *r* is, thus, a peculiarity of the Ap. dialect and it should be considered with reference to the

á la region. A coté des traitements par voyelle simple comme bhaṭa, dakhati, pituṣu, dukaṭa et sukiṭa, viyapaṭa et viyapuṭa, vaḍhi et vuḍha, on rencontre *r* suivi de voyelle: grahatha, driḍha, mruga et mriga. L'interprétation de cette notation est difficile en raison de l'instabilite de r dans les mêmes inscriptions (et jusque dans les parlers de notre epoque); dhrama (dharma) et kiṭra (kṛta), doublé peut-être de kriṭa posent la question d'une lecture *murga par example coincidant avec le traitement iranien." (Les Inscriptions d' Asoka §6), Trans : The inscriptions of the north-west testify to a special evolution at the region. By the side of the representations (of ṛ) by the simple vowel as in bhaṭa, dakhati, pituṣu, dukaṭa and sukita, viyapaṭa and viyapuṭa, vaḍhi and vuḍha r followed by the vowel is found : grahatha, driḍha, mruga and mriga. The interpretation of that notation is difficult in consideration of the instability of r into the same inscriptions (and even among the speakers of our epoch.) dhrama (dharma) and kiṭra (kṛta), which occurs, possibly, besides kriṭa admits of the question of a reading *murga for example, coinciding with the treatment in Iranian.

above quoted sūtra of Hemacandra (IV. 399) (vide Kharoṣṭhī inscriptions ed. Sten Konow pp. xcviii ff).

3. The change from *m* to *v* (through *v̆*) and *v* to *m* is a charaeteristic feature of Ap. Hemacandra explains the former i.e. the change from m to v̆ by the rule *mo'nunāsik vo vā* (IV 397), which preseribes the transformation of m to v̆ only. As regards the loss of the nasal anunāsika Pischel observes "This change (i.e. m to v̆) is obscure in other dialects and partly in Ap., while either v behind the anunāsika or more frequently the anunāsika before v disappears, so that only v̆ or v remains.[2] (Grammatik S. 251). Thus, from *m* the simple *v* develops. But as regards the reverse change from *v* to *m* Hemacandra has got no specific rule. Pischel has noticed this transformation and explained: "Ap va sometimes becomes v̆a.... In Ap. ma has fully developed from v̆a".[3] (Grammatik S. 261). Though there was no specific rule by Hemacandra, Pischel detected this feature by studying the Ap. words, some of which appear in the Ap. verses, quoted by Hemacandra himself in his Pkt. grammar: e.g. yāma <yāvat (Hem. iv 387.2.406.1), tāma <tāvat (Hem. iv. 406.1), jāmahî, tāmahî <yāvadbhiḥ, tāvadbhiḥ. Such change is noticed also in the words kema, kima, ema, ima, tema, tima and jema, jima of Hemacandra (Hem. iv. 401). Now, Sten Konow has observed such change of *v* to *m* in the Dhammapada and stated: "In the Dhp. (Dhammapada) intervocalic v sometimes occurs as m; thus nama Skr. nāvam B.35. sabhamu, Skr. saṁbhanam A.3.0.18. Such is occasionally also the case where v is derived from p: thus viñamani, pāli viññapaniṁ 0.3. pramuni, pāli papuni A.^{1} 3. This is also the case with the p of the enclitic punaḥ: thus va maṇo B.24. cf. no mina in the third pillar edict of the Aśoka etc." The change is found also in the word *emu* from *eva*. (cvo 8). In the *Lalitavistara* occurs *purima* from *pūrva*, which remains in the expression *purimasūbhaphalaiḥ* (p.123. Lefmann's edition). Now, with regard to the change from *m* to *v* in the Kharoṣṭhī inscriptions Sten Konow has remarked "We may perhaps draw the inference that there was a

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[2] "Dieser Lautübergang ist in anderen Dialekten, auch zum Teil in A. selbst, verdunkelt, indem entweder v̆ hinter dem Anunāsika oder haufiger, der Anunāsika vor v geschwunden ist, so dass nur v̆ oder v übrig geblieben ist."

[3] "In A wird va zuweilen zu v̆a,......Aus va hat sich volles ma entwickelt in A."

tendency to pronounce intervocalic *m* as a nasalized *v*, but no indications of such a pronunciation can be found in Kharoṣṭhī inscriptions." (Kharoṣṭhi inscriptions, p. civ).

4. Intervocalic *h* of MIA, whether original or derived from Sanskrit surd or sonant aspirates, was preserved in all stages of Pkt. including Ap. As regards its existence in the stages of Pkt., Pischel states: "h is neither elided nor inserted to avoid hiatus. All the cases, which are accepted to be such, rest partly upon false readings and partly upon false etymologies."[4] (Grammatik S. 266.). Now, in some New-Indo-Aryan speeches this intervocalic h has been elided. Prof. Jules Bloch notices the elision of h in Marāthī (Langue Marathe S. 161.), Prof. Turner in Gujarāti (Gujarati phonology J.R.A.S. 1921 S. 74.4.) and Prof. Chatterji in Bengali (Origin and Development of the Bengali language vol. 1 S. 304). Strangely such a feature has been noticed in the Aśokan dialects. In Shahbazgarhi we find *aa* (vi. 26)= *aha* (i.e. āha). *aaṁ* (vi. 30)= *ahaṁ*. *maa* occurs for Pkt. *maha* (gen. sing. of the pronoun of the 1st person), ia (=skt. iha) and ialoka. In Mansera aaṁ (iv. 30)= ahaṁ (iv.28). In the Kharoṣṭhī inscriptions we find only one case of the loss of intervocalic h. For *Kharahosta* we find *kharaosta* in the Lion Capital inscription, which seems to betray the loss of an intervocalic *h*. It is noticed in a place of the Prākrit Dhammapada. In the verse "*puve i* kica parijaga ma ta kici kicakali ade ata tadisa paṅka.........."(Cro.8) the expression *puve i* represents Sanskrit *purve hi* (i.e. *purvasmin hi*). In the note Barua adds that Pāli *puvve hī* stands for *puve i* of this verse. Now with regard to the change of *aaṁ* for *ahaṁ* and *maa* for *maha* Prof. Bloch has said "The epigraphists have read sometimes *aaṁ* for *ahaṁ*, *maa* for *maha*".[5] (Les Inscriptions d' Aśoka, p. 91, foot note 5). Thus, according to Bloch loss of *h* in the above cases is not a phonological peculiarity, rather it is just a peculiar way of reading the words by the epigraphists. Prof. Bloch's statement seems to contain some truth and may account for the loss of h in some cases. But it is sure that the same cannot hold good for all the cases.

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[4] "h fälft weder aus, noch wird es zur Vermeidung des Hiatus eingeschoben. Alle Fälle in denen man dies angenommen hat, beruhen teils auf falschen Lesarten, teils auf falschen Etymologien."

[5] "Les épigraphistes ont parfois lu aaṁ pour ahaṁ, maa pour maha."

5. In some NIA. speeches the OIA. and MIA. active present participle 'nt' has developed into various forms of the progressive tense. In the stage of the NIA. in some speeches the sound *n* of the present participle (i.e. *nt*) has assimilated itself to *t*, which alone remains and adjusts itself to multifarious changes demanded by the vernacular inflexions. The later form with the assimilation of the nasal is found in Hindi, in all the dialects of E. Hindi, Garhwāli, Gujarātī and Marāthī. (Beams. A comparative grammar of the modern Aryan languages of India, Vol. III §40). In some of them the old form with the full nasal element survives side by side (mostly evidenced in the old texts). Now, the assimilation of the nasal in the Imperfect participle is noticed in some inscriptions of Aśoka. In the Girnar rock-edicts occurs *Karota*—a form of the present participle from the root kṛ, so does the form *kalata* from the same root in the Kalsi edict (XI. 32). In the Shahbazgarhi rock-edicts too occur *karataṁ* and *asatasa*, which clearly testify to the assimilation of the nasal of the participle.

6. Let us come to morphology. We notice the loss of inflexions in Ap. According to Hem, IV. 344 (*Syam jas śasām luk*) the endings of the nom. and acc. both sing. and plur. are dropped in Ap. and in the place of the inflected words the bare stems are used. In the documents of the early Prākrits such use of the bare stems for the inflected words is frequently noticed.

NOM. SING. (a) Let us begin from the nom. sing, and take into consideration, first, the Aśoka inscriptions. In the Girnar version of the rock-edicts we find *aṁtekīna* in the masc. and *phala*, *mata* in the neut. In the Kālsi edicts the neut. base *adisha* (XI, 29) stands without inflexion. In the Shahbazgarhi rock-edicts among the masc. stems occur *jana* (XIV. 13), *ghosha* (IV. 8) *pradeśika* (III. 6), *vadha* (XIII. 3), *saṁbaṁdha* (XI 23), *sayama* (VII. 4), *maka* (XIII.29), *saṁpatipāda*. In the neut. are *dana*, *achayika* (IV. 14), *dukara* (VI. 16), *draśana*, *daśana* (VIII. 17), *puña* (XI. 24), *maṅgala* (sections D. F.), *mahaphala*, *aṁtika* (Dhau. Sep. 1. 9, Jau. Sep. 1. 5.), *duvāla* (Dhau. Sep. 1. 3. Jau. Sep. II. 2), *mata*, *vaṭitaviya* (Jau. Sep. 1. 7). (References from the edition of Hultzsch.)

(b) In the Kharoṣṭhī inscriptions the following endingless forms of the nom. sing. occur : *navakamika*, *ksatrapa liaka* (Patika), *thuva sagharama* (Lion Capital), *lala horamurta* (Mānikiāla), *putra*, *vagra*, *maregra*, *jalajuga*, *parivara*, *agrabhaga*, *parigraha*, and *kadalayigra* [Kharoṣṭhī Inscriptions, Sten Konow p. cxiii].

(c) The Prākrit Dhammapada gives the following examples: apramata in *apramate na miyati pramata yadha muta* ($A^3$12), 'unlike the fool who dies, the wise man does not die'; apramada in *apramada tu medhavi dhana seṭhi va rachati* ($A^3$14), 'the wise man is careful and preserves treasure like a merchant'; aśoka, jana in *aśoka soina jana* ($A^3$16), 'a man overwhelmed in grief becomes free from grief and vatita śara in *aho nako va sagani cavadhi vatita śara* (Cro 31), 'I am like an elephant upon whom falls an arrow'?

(d) We get the following examples from the *Lalitavistara*: Bodhisattva in *tathaiva nāthu bodhisattva lakṣanairalaṁkṛtaṁ* (p. 75), sūrya in *Paridāhakaro yatha sūrya nabhe* (p. 175), pūrṇa in *pratyeka-buddhabbhiḥ ca arhabbi pūrṇa loko* (p. 303), ravi in *eko ravi grasati* (p. 304), deva in *barṣati deva* (p. 308), dullabha in *dullabha bodhi nibarttaya mānasakaṁ* (p. 322), teja in *āpo mi sākṣi tatha teja tathaiva vāyu* (p. 340), punya, bala in *yatteṣu punya bala śīlu tathaiva jñānaṁ* (p. 341) and prapūrṇa in *abhiprāyu prapūrṇa* (p. 414).

NOM. PLUR. (a) In the Aśoka inscriptions the endingless forms of the nom. plur; are considerably found. We note the following: In the Kālsi edicts occur ; *nātikya* (XII 38), *pāsaṁḍa* (XIII 37), *pāshaṁḍa* (XII 37), *pāshaṁḍa* (XII 21), *puluva* (V 14), *pujitaviya* (XII 32), In the Shāhbazgarhi are found ; *anuvigina* (Dhau. Sep. II 5), *āyata* (Dhau. Sep. 1. 4. Jau. Sep. 1. 2), *nagalaka* (Jau. Sep. II 10), *mahāmāta* (Dhau. Sep. I. 1), *vataviya* (Dhau. Sep. I. 2. II); *viyohālaka* (Jau. Sep. I. 1). In the Pillar edicts we find: *abhīta*; *asvatha*, *āyata*, *kaṭa*, *pujita*, *mahāmāta lajūka*, while in the minor rock inscriptions: *saṁta* and *deva*.

(b) In the Kharoṣṭhī inscriptions Sten Konow detects the following endingless forms: *pradistavita* (Taxila scroll), *prachagra*, *saṃkara*, *uvagrasa* (Kurram), *śarira pratiṣṭhavidra* (Swāt Vase) (Sten Konow; Kharoṣṭhī Inscriptions, p. cxiii).

(c) The Prākrit Dhammapada supplies the following forms, which drop inflexions in the nom. plur.: jana in *drumedhino jana* (A^3 14) 'people are perverted', nara in *vi miyati nara nari ca ekada* (Cvo. 13); 'as one day both men and women succumb to death', anica and saghara in *anica vata saghara* (cf Pāli aniccā vata saṁkhārā etc.) 'the saṁkhāras are unsubstantial'.

(d) In the *Lalitavistara* the following are noted: Kāma and alabhamāna in *Kāma alabhamāna dıbyayante* (p. 242), nāga-kanya and udagra in *nāgakanya udagra hṛṣṭamanasaḥ kurvanti pujāṁ muneḥ* (p. 282), ogha in *ogha vahanti jalākuˡabhūmiṁ* (p. 308), acetana and vṛkṣa in *acetana vṛkṣa patanti* (p. 308), pramāṇa in *catura pramāṇa mama sākṣi* (p. 341), sattva in *yāvanti sattva nikhilā daśasu diśāsu* (p. 341), saṁmūḍha in *saṁmūḍha mārga na labhanti* (p. 341), sulabdha in *lābhā sulabdha* (p. 355), brāhmaṇa in *saṁrakṣita brāhmaṇa vāsavena* (p. 391), nipātita in *nipātita kleśadrumāḥ* (p. 414) and cintita in *aśeṣa ya cintita kalpaśatā* (p. 414).

Acc. Sing. (a). There are many cases of the loss of inflexions in the acc. sing. in the Aśoka inscriptions. In the Girnar edicts occurs *mādava* (neut.), but in the Kālsi edicts are found *paśaḍa*, *pāshaḍa*, *pāshaṇḍa* (XII. 33), *shayama*, *vijaya* and *vijayataviya* (XIII. 16), all in the masc; but *mādava* (XIII. 4) in the neuter. The Shahbazgarhi edicts show *aṭhra* (VI. section E), *dosha* and *bahuka* (I. 1), *dana* (neut.), *karaṇa* (XIV. 14), *vasana* (XIII. 5), *bidalokika* (Dhau. Sep. II. 6), *bahuka* (Jau. Sep. I. 4) and *vachani~~ka~~* (Jau. Sep. I. 12. II. 1). In the Rupanath minor inscriptions are found *sagha* (masc.), *vipula* (neut.) but *vadhi* in the pillar edict (IV. B) and *śagha* in the minor rock-inscription.

(b) In the Kharoṣṭhī inscriptions the use of the basic stems for the acc. sing. is very rarely found. Sten Konow points out *Khalamasa Kumara* and *majakanitha* as illustrations (Kharoṣṭhī Inscriptions, p. cxiii).

(c) The Dhammapada too shows the loss of inflexion of the acc. sing. in a few cases. These are: maga in *prañai maga alasu na vinati* (A^3. 9), 'he will not find the road to wisdom'; dhana in *dhana seṭhī va rachati* (A^3. 14) '(one) protects treasure like a merchant'; pramāda in *pramāda appramādena yada nudati panitu* (A^3. 16) 'when the wise men have overcome heedlessness through earnestness'; bhumaṭha and bala in *pravaṭatho va bhumaṭha dhiru bala avecchati* (A^3. 16) 'as one looks below the people on the ground from the mountain so the wise look down upon the fools'; samidhi in *apramadena makhabba devana samidhi gatu* (A^3. 17 + A^2. 1) 'by wisdom Indra among the gods attained meditation'; jati-sañcara in *prabai jati sañcara* '(one) casts off transmigration', ducarita in *na tu ducarita cari* (Cro. 30) 'one should not practise an evil deed' and

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dukha in *tada nivinati dukha......*(A^3. 1) 'then one shakes off sorrow'.

(d) In the *Lalitavistara* too the loss of inflexions in the acc. sing. is an usual phenomenon. We quote the following as illustrations: vacana in *daubāriko vacana śrutva gṛhaṁ praviṣṭa* (p. 114) svarṇa in *ahu svarṇa pravarṣayiṣye* (p. 136), vacana in *sādhu bhaṇābhī vacana mameha chandā* (p. 232); vimāna in *pauṣpaṁ vimāṇa gagane upadarśayantaḥ* (p. 282), dharaṇi and mārga in *sa pāṇinā dharaṇi ābhante salīḍam, saṁmūḍha mārga na labhanti alenatrāṇāḥ* (p. 341) and tṛpti in *na ca darśana tṛpti labhāmo* (p. 364).

ACC. PLUR. (a) We do not find any suitable example in the Aśoka inscriptions, which definitely indicates the loss of inflexion in the acc. plur.

(b) In the Kharoṣṭhī Inscriptions the loss of inflexion in the acc. plur. is a very rare phenomenon. Sten Konow cites only two examples, which are *bharatara sarva* (Patika) and *samanumotrakra* (Lion Capital).

(c) In the Prākrit Dhammapada we detect only a single case of loss of inflexion in the acc. plur. Kala in *aveti soḍaśa kala* (Cro. 14) (one) attains sixteen kalās'.

(d) Such loss of inflexion is not rare in the *Lalitavistara* too. It appears in mahaduḥkha in *mahaduhkha janenti ghorakāmāḥ* (p. 242), sattva in *sarvā sattva kareya ekamataya śuṣyenmahāsāgaro* (p. 332).

7. Hemacandra in his Pkt. gram. sūtra IV. 330 (*syādau dirgha-hrasau*) states that in Ap. the final vowel of the declined words is lengthened or shortened optionally in nom. and other cases. Though Hemacandra prescribes the rule for all the cases he illustrates only those forms, which undergo lengthening in the nom. and voc. cases. Such lengthening or shortening, it may be presumed, is probably due to the exigency of metre. In the case of lengthening, however, the contraction of the vowel a, developed from the pleonastic ka, with the preceding final vowel of the stem, may be held responsible for this phonetic change.

(a) In the Aśoka inscriptions such tendency is noticed. In the Girnar rock-edicts in the nom. sing. the word *maga* gets its final vowel *a* lengthened i.e. it appears as *magā*. Again, the word chikichhā in nom. plur. is shortened to *chikichha* (II. 4). In the

Kālsi edicts in the nom. sing. masc. the word maka is lengthened to makā. In the neut. sing. the final nasal is elided with the concomitant lengthening of the final vowel in *ādishā* (IV. 10), *kaṃmatalā* (VI. 20), *punā* (Skt. Punyaṁ). In the acc. sing. masc. the termination *-aṁ* is elided and the final *a* is lengthened in *atapāsāḍā* (XII. 32), *bahukā dosā* (I. 2). Such lengthening in the acc. sing. neut. with the elision of the nasal termination is found in *mahaphalā* (XIII. 14), *khudā* and *nilathiyā* (IX. 24). In the nom. plur. masc. of the a-bases the forms, which show the elision of the termination, may be rightly interpreted as having undergone the shortening of the final syllable *ā*. So all those forms—*nātıkya* (XII. 38), *pāsaṃḍa* (XIII. 37), *pāshaṃḍa* (XII. 34), *pāsaṁḍa* (VII. 21), *puluva* (V. 14), *pujetaviya* (XII. 32), which have been cited above to illustrate the use of the endingless bases in the nom. plur. masc. may be, quite appropriately, quoted to demonstrate the shortening of the final syllable in the nom. plur. In the feminine ā bases in the nom. sing. the final ā is shortened to a: *hidalokika* (XIII. 18).

In the Shahbazgarhi rock-edicts in the nom. plur. masc. of the a-bases the final ā is shortened in *anuvigina* (Dhau. Sep. II. 4. Jau. Sep II. 5), *āyata* (Dhau. Sep. 1. 4, Jau. Sep. I. 2), *nagalaka* (Jau. Sep I. 10), *mahāmāta* (Dhau. Sep. I. 1), *vataviya* (Dhau. Sep. I. 2. II. 1), *viyohālaka* (Jau. Sep. I. 1). In the feminine ā bases in the nom. sing, the final ā is shortened in achala, ichha, likhita, sotaviya. In the plural such shortening also occurs: e.g. chikisa, kriṭa, striyaka etc. In the neut. a-base in the nom. sing, the final *a* of the word dāna is lengthened, which appears as *dānā* in the pillar edicts. In the nom. plur. of the masc. a-base the final *ā* is shortened in *abhita*, *asvatha*, *āyata*, *kata*, *pujita*, *mahāmāta* and *lājuka*. In the feminine ā-bases in the pillar edicts the final *ā* is shortened in *apekha*, *avadhya*, *isya*, *kapilaka*, *kāiāpita*, *jatuka*, *daya*, *pālana*, *likhāpita*, *vaḍhita*, *viyata*, *salika*, and *sakhīyana*. In the word *anupaṭipatī* (Delhi Toprā VII. 1.24.), which is a form of the acc. sing., the anusvāra is dropped and the final i is lengthened. In the minor rock-inscriptions the word deva (Sahasrām), which is a form of the nom. plur. masc. shows the shortening of the final ā. It is also the case with *saṃta*.

(b) In the Kharoṣṭhī inscriptions Sten Konow informs us, the feminine ā bases form their nominative in a in the sing. Hence the shortening of the final long *ā* is noticed here. Sten Konow cites *karavita* (Kaldarra), *upasika*, *balajaya* (Sui Bihar) *vedana*, *tasha* (Kurram), *thuṇa* (Jānialgarhī), *prapa* (Tor Dherai).

(c) In illustrating the forms of the endingless nom. plur. in the Prākrit Dhammapada we have mentioned *jana*, *nara*, *anica* and *saghara*; the same may stand as illustrations of the shortening of the final long syllable in the nom. plur. Shortening is noticed in the forms of the nom. plur. of the feminine ī bases, which becomes i; e.g, nadi in *yadha nadi pravatia racha vahati* 'as a mountain river overflows its course' and nari in *miyati nara nari ca ekadā*. "as men and women succumb to death one day."

(d) In the Lalita-vistara too we find such lengthening or shortening of the final vowel. The vowel ī has been shortened in the word nāri in the nom. sing., which occurs in *nāri sā parama rūpa upeta* (p. 54). It is found in nadi in *maraṇaṁ harate nadi dāru yathā* (p. 175) and *atipatita yauvanamidaṁ giri nadi yatha cañcalapravalavegā* (p. 184). In the nom. plur. of the feminine ā-base the final ā has been shortened to a in nāgakanya occurring in *nāgakanya udagrahṛṣṭamanasaḥ kurvanti pujāṁ muneḥ* (p. 282), in śākyakanya in *etānīdṛsā śākyakanya supināṁ* (p. 195), in mārasena and vṛkṣadevata in *sā mārasena vipulā sā vṛkṣadevata tadā karunāṁ hi kṛtvā* (p. 342), in prajña in *yo bhājanaṁ deti tathāgatasya na tasya jātu smṛti prajña hīyate* (p. 384), in achidra in *achidra te bheṣyati punyadakṣinā* (p. 385), in prasanna in *yada puna janatā prasanna brahma tena adhiṣṭu prabartayiṣye cakraṁ* (p. 393), in avidya in *na tatra avidya kāci* (p. 420).

8. Now, it is a fact to be noted that Hemacandra prescribes the shortening or lengthening of the final vowel of the inflected nominal bases (IV. 330). But we note such lengthening or shortening in pronouns, adverbs, verbal inflexions and other parts of speeches too including particles and enclitics. In the Girnar version of the Aśoka edicts are found ajā (adya), atā (atra), anatā (anyatra), āhā, ēvā etc. There is shortening of the vowel in vā, which appears as va. In the Dhauli and Jaugaḍa rock edicts appear āhā (Jau. Sep II. 1), chā, kechā, ma(m)āt(i). In the *Lalitavistara* we note such shortening or lengthening in a large number of cases. The pronominal form mama appears as mamā in *devā śrunā nandaśabdaṁ mamā* (p. 94.), where there is lengthening of the final vowel. Again, there is shortening of the final vowel in tvaya in *tvaya dharṣitu māru*

sasainyu (p. 414). The final vowel is shortened in the forms of the absolutive, e.g. *āruhitva* (p. 73), *śrutva* (p 114), *śunitva* (p. 241), *śrunitva* (p. 393), *sthihitva* (p. 414), *janitva* (p. 422), etc. Such verbal forms as *bhanāhī* (p. 232), *nirodhayī*, *dadamī*, *gacchatī* (p. 236) show lengthening of the final vowel, which is probably due to the exigency of metre. Again, the lengthening of the final *a* is found in the absolutive form *niśamyā*, which appears as *vacanam imu niśamyā pāriṣadyai kṣaṇena* (p. 79.).

9. In the nom. and acc. sing., both masc. and neut., the *a*-bases add the termination *-u* according to Hemacandra (VI. 331). The occurrence of the termination -u in the acc. may be explained only by assuming the transference of the ending from the nom. to the acc. Such a termination has made its appearance in the early Pkts. though the Aśoka inscriptions and the Kharoṣṭhī inscriptions do not show its trace. In the *Dhammapada* the u-ending predominates and in the *Lalitavistara* there has been a flood of this termination. In the *Dhammapada* we find in the nom. sing. virāku in *virāku seṭho dhamana* (A^3. 4) 'renunciation is the best of virtues', namu in *abhaya namu so diśa* (A^4. 1) 'the quarter is free from fears', avaramu in *hiri tasa avaramu* (p. 105) 'hriḥ tasya apālambaḥ', mutu in *pramata yadha mutu* (A^3. 12) 'as a fool succumbs to death', gatu in *devana samidhi gatu* (A^3.17+A^2. 1) '(Indra) obtained meditation among the gods', pramadu in *pramadu garahitu sadā* (A^3 17+A^2 1.) 'folly is always denounced', suriu in *abha muto va suriu* (p. 129) 'like the sun free from clouds', apramatu in *yo imasa dhama-vinau apramatu vihasiti* (p. 129) 'who, free from folly, lives according to this law of discipline', sagamu utamu in *so hi sagamu utamu* (Cro 6), 'He is the best warrior', visamu is *yadha na visamu ichati* (Cro. 32) 'as his enemy desires' and balu in *atha dubakati balu suhatu parihayati* (Cro. 39) 'then the fool, disposed to evil, is deprived of pleasure'. In the acc. we find dhamu in *dhamu sucarita care* (A^3. 6) 'the virtuous should practise religion,' suhu in *dhamacari suhu śeati* (A^3. 6) 'one practising religion obtains happiness', divu in *divu karoti medhāvi* (A^3. 7), 'the wise man makes himself an island', paramu sukhu in *pranati paramu sukhu* (A^1. 7) '(He), obtains the supreme bliss' and sohu in *uvaśata sohu śayati* (Cro. 43) 'one, who attains tranquillity remains in peace'.

In the *Lalitavistara* too occur the following: In the nom. are found śuddhodanu in *pitā ca śuddhodanu* (p. 28), mahādhanu in *āḍhyo mahādhanu mahānicayaḥ* (p. 45), manāpapriyu in *iṣṭo manāpapriyu sarvvajage* (p. 46), dānu in *dānu dattu* (p. 53), kāyu in *yena kāyu yatha meru śobhate* (p. 53), gajabaru in *gajabaru dṛḍhasaṁdhi bajrakalpassurūpaḥ* (p. 56), mahāvimānu and vīru in *susaṁsthito mahāvimānu naikaratnacitrito yatra vīru āruhitva tiṣṭhate vināyakaḥ* (p. 73), aparu in *aparu puruṣa āha* (p. 94), uttamu in *devātideva ahu uttamu sarvadevaiḥ* (p. 119), svarṇakāryu, vastrakāryu, dhānyakāryu in *yadi svarṇakāryu ahu svarṇa pravarṣayiṣye etc.* (p. 136), apriyu in *bhavate tada apriyu gṛdhrasamaḥ* (p. 174) priyu in *pratighātakaraḥ priyu dveṣakaraḥ paridāhakaro yatha sūrya nabhe* (p. 175), asahāyu in *asahāyu naro vrajate'dvitiyo* (p. 175), muktāhāru pralambamānu in *muktāharu pralambamāuu patitaḥ* (p. 194), vacanu in *devatāvacanu taṁ nirodhayī* (p. 236), svaru in *krośamātru svaru tasya gacchatī* (p. 236), deśu in *no kiṁcidapi deśu vidyate* (p. 237), śuru in *astyeka śuru valavāṁśca* (p. 304) and māru in *tvaya dharṣitu māru sasainyu* (p. 414). In the acc. sing. we find the u-ending in the following words: rājakāryu in *rājakāryu na karoti* (p. 76), āśayu in *jānanti āśayu mama ṛṣayo mahātamā* (p. 159), sarvu in *kiṁ yācase mama varaṁ vada sarvu dāsye*, rājakulu in *anugṛhna rājakulu*, asthānu in *asthānu yācasi kumāra* (p. 199), jvalamānu in *kareṇa gṛhya jvalamānu vajraṃ* (p. 219), aśvarāju in *aśvarāju dadamī narottame* (p. 236), vināsu in *prayāsyasi vināsu* (p. 338) dharmu in *te imu śrunitva hi dharmu śraddahanti* (p. 393), adhisṭu in *tena adhssṭu pravartayiṣye cakraṁ* (p. 393).

10. In the inst. sing., of the a-base both masc. and neut. the termination is-ẽ according to Hemacandra (iv. 333). It proceeds definitely from Pkt. -ena, of which the final a has been elided. (See Pischel's Grammatik §146). Now this Ap. form has been found in two places of the Kharoṣṭhī inscriptions. In one place of the *Dhammapada* too Sten Konow has detected this form. We quote the following observations of Sten Konow, which will point to the correctness of our assumption. He states:—"The instrumental is of frequent occurrence and ends in -ena, -eṇa; thus, *utareṇa* (Patika), *sihileṇa*, *siharakshiteṇa* (Taxila base) etc. Only in two inscriptions we find a shortened form in *e* i.e. probably ẽ, viz. *śuḍase kṣatrave* (Lion Capital), *moike urumujaputre.* Lüders thought of a pluralis majestatis. The form *alasie* in the Dhp (A^2. 9) where the instrumental

ends in -eṇa, shows, however, that we have to do with the sing." (p, cxiii). We are of the firm conviction that the above-quoted *śuḍase kṣatrave*, *moike*, *urumujaputre* and *olasie* are forms of the inst. sing., which are regular in Ap.

11. In the inst. plur. of the a-base both masc. and neut. the termination is *-ahiṃ* (also -ahî and ahi) in Ap. (Pischel Grammatik S. 368). The termination is peculiar to the Ap. dialect, which occasionally takes the Pkt. ending -ehiṁ (-ehî or ehi). Now, this termination -ahi occurs in Shahdaur Inscription of Sivarakshit. There it occurs in the word daśahi, which qualifies kahapa(na)sa-(ha)-sre (obviously kahapanasahasrehi), a form of the inst. plur. There will be no doubt that daśahi is a form of the inst. plur. if we quote the entire inscription and compare the relevant portion with its corresponding translation, which Sten Konow has advanced. The inscription reads:

Text 1. Ayasa saṁ
2. Sivarakshi(ta)sa (shu)tasa
3. aḍhasa [dhanaṭhi] tasa cha i........
4. daśahi kahapa(na) sa(ha)sre... ... ...
5. abhu yo Gotama(stalao)... ... ...

Sten Konow translates: "During the reign of......Azes, anno... (a donation) of Śivarakshita, the renowned (?) rich and wealthy one took place...*with ten thousand karṣapanas*...which...of Gotama." Here Sten Konow adds: "I, therefore, read daśahi kahāpanasahasre(hi)." From the expressions put in Italics and this remark of Sten Konow there cannot be any doubt that daśahi is a form of the inst. plur. Now, it cannot be of any dialect save and except of Ap. since the termination here is -ahi, (i.e. ahiṁ) which sometimes drops the nasal anunāsika though in most cases preserves it.

It should be noted here that this inst. ending -ahi is found also in daśahi, which occurs in the Hidda inscription of the year 28. The inscription reads: *saṃvatsarae aṭhaviṃśatihi* 20. 4. 4, *mvsye apelae sastehi daśahi* 10. *iśe kṭuṇaṃmi pratistavita sarira rajaraṃñaṃmi thuvaṃmi saṅghamitrena navakarmiena.* Sten Konow translates it: "In the twenty-eighth 28 year in the month Apellaios, *when* 10 *had appeared*, at this term a relic was deposited in the king's grove, in a stupa by the architect Sanghamitra". Now from the translation of Sten Konow it is very likely to assume that *sastehi daśahi* are forms of the loc. plur. If that be true our assumption of daśahi as a form of the inst. plur. cannot stand. For ascertaining the exact case of the word let us take into consideration the Box-lid inscription of the year 18. It reads:

Saṃ 10 44 masye Arthamisiya sastehi 10 *is*(*e*) *kṣunaṃm*(*n*)*i Gotama-shamanase sarira paristavida.* Sten Konow's translation occurs as: "Anno 18 in the month Artemisios, *when 10 had appeared*, at this term the Śramaṇa Gotamasa's relic was enshrined." It should be noted here that the beginnings of the two inscriptions are almost identical and the term sastehi occurs in both. Though the term daśahi, which occurs in the former, is absent in the latter, yet its occurrence may be assumed from the figure 10, that appears in the latter after sastehi. It is also to be marked that in both the places the translation of the relevant portions by Sten Konow is exactly the same (i.e when 10 had appeared). It suggests that in both the cases the words sastehi and daśahi should be explained in the same manner. If in the former sastehi daśahi be interpreted as forms of the loc. plur., in the latter too they should be similarly taken as forms of the loc. plur.

Now, in the explanatory notes of the Box-lid inscription Sten Konow has stated about sastehi the following:—"Sastehi is the instrumental plural of sasta and is used with the meaning 'day' in the Hiddā and Wardak inscriptions and in some Kharoṣṭhī documents from Central Asia. It is not an Indian word but seems to be identical with Khotanī saka sasta, the past participle of the base sad, to shine, to appear, which is used in the same way as the Iranian base sak, which is used about the passing of time. Sastehi 10 accordingly means 'when 10 had appeared' (Kharoṣṭhī Inscriptions p. 152). It clearly suggests that sastehi of the Hiddā inscription is a form of the inst. plur. So is, obviously, daśahi which follows it. It should also be mentioned here that for Sten Konow's reading *apelae sastehi dasahi* of the Hiddā inscription. Prof. Thomas has read *Ape* (*or pi*) *laesa stehi dosahiṃ* (p. 157). In the latter the word dasahi has preserved the nasal element, which is quite regular in the Ap. termination -ahiṁ (also ahi or ahi). So we must conclude that daśahi both in the Shahdaur Inscription of Shivarakshit and Hiddā inscription are forms of Ap. Sten Konow overlooked this fact and did not include it in the exhaustive discussion, which he has made in the excellent edition of the inscriptions.

12. In the fragments of Buddhist dramas which were very excellently edited by Lüders the speech of the devil contains the expressions *hangho kumudagandha dekkha tāva līlam makkaṭah(o)* (p. 34). Now, the form makkaṭaho is a form of the gen. of Ap. as the termination -ho, along with -su and -ssu are added to the a-stems in the gen. sing. in Ap. (Hem. IV. 338. *ṅasaḥ su-ho-ssavaḥ*) Lüders has discussed elaborately the nature of this form and been in great doubt as regards its true explanation. He states: "makkaṭaho is a difficult form. It readily reminds us of the forms āhu, āho, which Kramadīśvara and Mārkaṇḍeya have sanctioned for the voc. plur. of the a-stems in Māg. (Pischel §372). Since makkaṭaho stands at the end of the sentence, it is totally impossible that, it should be a case of the vocative. If the preceding word be rightly restored as līlam, then we should expect the gen. here. The gen. sing. of the a- stems frequently ends in -āha (Pischel §366) in Māg, but not in -aho. Aho is rather the usual ending of the gen. sing. in Ap. We, therefore, consider it possible that makkaṭaho is a form of the gen. sing., which differs from that of the Māg. of the grammarians; due to the uncertainty of the explanation it is not possible for us to deduce any further conclusion".[6] (Die Brüchstücke der buddhistischen Dramen, p. 36). The above remark of Lüders shows that it can never be a form of Māgadhī. On the occurrence of other forms of Ap. in the early Pkts., as evidenced from above, it is possible for us to easily conclude that makkaṭaho is a form of the gen. sing. of Ap. and the same has penetrated into the Buddhist

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[6] "Eine schwierige Form ist makkaṭaho. Sie erinnert zunächst an die Formen auf āhu, āho, die Kramadīśvara und Mārkaṇḍeya für den vok. plur- der a-Stamme in Mg. gestatten (Pischel §372). Da aber makkaṭaho am ende des Satzes erscheint, so ist es ganz unwahrscheinlich, dass es ein Vokativ ist. Eher sollten wir, wenn die Ergänzung des vorhergehenden wortes zu līlaṁ richtig ist, einen Genetiv erwärten. Der Gen, Sg. der a-Stamme lautet in Mg. häufig auf āha aus (Pischel 366), aber nicht auf-aho; -aho ist aber die gewöhnliche Endung des Gen. Sg. in Apabhraṁśa. Ich halte es daher für moglich, dass wir in makkaṭaho einen von der Māgadhī der Grammatiker abweichenden Gen. Sg. vor uns haben: bei der unsicherheit der Erklärung mochte ich aber keine weiteren Schlüsse daraus ziehen."

drama exactly in the same way as the above-discussed Ap. forms have intruded into the other Pkt. texts.

13. Hemacandra in his Pkt. gram (IV. 345) prescribes the loss of inflexion in the gen. both sing. and plur. and illustrates the same by citing examples. It may incidentally be mentioned that the above-view of Hemacandra has been adversely criticised by Alsdorf, who explains the alleged cases of endingless genitives as the preceding members of the regular or loosely-formed compounds. (Apabhraṁśa Studien, pp. 56-57). But H. B. Bhayani in his observations on the language of the Sandeśa-rāsaka has supported Hemacandra. He has unequivocally stated that the later lingustic developments in the vernaculars, which have shown disintegration of the old-inflexional systems and copious uses of the post-positions to indicate various case relations, have definitely supported the statements of Hemacandra. So we do not like to raise any objection to the observations of Hemacandra, whose rule prescribing the loss of inflexions in the nom. and acc. both sing. and plur. has not been called into question by any body.

In the Prākrit Dhammapada we notice one case of the endingless gen. In the verse "*yasa etadiśa yana gehi parvaitasa va sa vi etina yanena nirvanaseva satie* A4$_3$".

Trans; The house-holder or the mendicant, who possesses such knowledge, reaches the proximity of renunciation with the help of this knowledge.

The word gehi is an instance of the endingless genitive. Prof. Barua has observed: "The gen. termination has been dropped in gehi metri causa". (The Prākrit *Dhammapada*, p. 105). So, it should be admitted that in this particular case the characteristic of the Apabhraṁśa speech has been noticed in the early Pkt., which is represented by the *Dhammapada*.

14. Hemacandra in his Prākrit grammar (IV. 334) has prescribed the ending *-i* for the *a-* bases in the loc. sing. Now, the loc. ending after a- bases has been noticed in the early Pkts. It is absent in the Aśoka inscriptions. In the Kharoṣṭhī inscriptions this ending -i sometimes occurs. Sten Konow has mentioned the forms aṭhami (Uṇḍ), ekachapariśai (Ārā), masi (Mamāne Dheri) and paṁchami (Hashtnagar). All these forms, he explains, are due to the influence of the forms, which have the endings -ami or -aṁmi

in the loc. In the Pkt. *Dhammapada* the loc. -i is also noticed. Such are: loki in *asmi loki parasa y* (A^3. 4) 'in this world and the next', puvi in *yo tu puvi pramajati* (p. 129) 'he, who was formerly heedless', sagami in *sagami maṇusa jini* (Cro 6) 'having conquered people in the battle', masamasi in *masamasi sahasina yo yaea* (Cro 11) "who will conquer (enemies) every month by thousands', loki in *asmi loki parasa yi* (Cro 30) 'in this world and in the next', sagami in *aho nako va sagami* (Cro 31) 'I am like an elephant in the battle', vaṇi in *malua va vitata vani* (Cro 32) 'like a creeper spread in the forest'? Let us investigate into the *Lalitavistara*. The loc. *-i is* so abundantly found here that it is not possible to enumerate and quote them all in one place. We quote the following as illustrations: *prāsādi dharmoccayi* (for prāsāde dharmoccaye), *sudharma-siṁhāsani* (for *sudharma-siṃhāsane*) (p. 27), *pretaloki* (for pretaloke) (p. 53), *pūrvi* (for pūrve), *loki* (for loke) (p. 53), *jambudvīpi* (for jambudvipe), *rājagehi* (for rājagṛhe), *tisraloki* (for tisra loke) (p. 54), *udari* (for udare) (p. 56), *kāli* (for kāle) (p. 75), *kṣaṇi* (for kṣaṇe) (p. 91), *kāyi* (for kāye) (p. 111), *lakṣaṇi* (for lakṣaṇe) (p. 123), *kumāravaṇi* (for kumāravaṇe) (p. 133), *saṃkirṇī paṅki* (for saṁkīrṇe paṅke) *naramadhyi* (for naramadhye) (p. 137), purīṣi svaki (for purīṣe svake) (p. 189), *niṣkramakāli* (for niṣkramakāle) (p. 193), *saṃgrāmamadhyi* (for saṁgrāmamadhye) (p. 197), *yāmi* (for yāme) (p. 236), *caraṇi* (for caraṇe), *rājyi* (for rājye) (p. 241), *raṇakāli prāpti* (for raṇakāle prāpte) (p. 304), *loki* (for loke) (p. 363, 422). The loc. ending *-i* has developed from the short vowel *e* and it is a fact to be noted that in Ap. metrics the short vowel *e* and *i* are mutually interchangeable. In the Prākṛta-Paiṅgala the author has definitely stated the syllable *e* to be optionally short, for which we frequently find the syllable *i* in some of the mss. (Prākṛta-paiṅgale, Mātrāvṛtta, verse 5).

15. In his Pkt. grammar (iv. 361) Hemacandra asserts that the demonstrative pronoun idam in the neut. sing. becomes imu in Ap. Pischel has noted it and said "Ap. has only neut. *imu*,"[7] (Grammatik S. 430). Now, imu has been found on several occasions in the *Lalitavistara*, vacana*mimu* śunitvā (p. 57, 78), vacana*mimu* niśamyā (p. 79), api ca *imu* jagaṁ apekṣāmyaṁ (p. 215) vacana*mimu*

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[7] "A hat nur Neutr *imu*."

śunitva (p. 241), te *imu* śrunitva hi dharmu śraddhahanti (p. 393) *imu* vacana śrunitva (p. 422).

16. According to Hemacandra (iv. 439) Ap. has got *-i* as the termination of the absolutive along with *-iu*, *-ivi* and *-avi*. Pischel has taken notice of this *-i* in his Grammatik (S. 504), which comes from Pkt. *-ia* through the elision of the final *a*. Now, this ending *-i* is found to have occurred in two places of the *Lalitavistara*. In page 322 occurs *utthi laghuṁ paribhuñja suyauvanikaṁ dullabha bodhi nivarttaya mānasakaṁ* 'having arisen enjoy the blessings of youth, it is difficult to acquire knowledge, turn your mind from it.' In page 422 is found *vayamapi anuśikṣi tasyā mune vīryasthāmodgataṁ kṣipra bhavema loki lokottamā dharmacakṣurdadāḥ* 'We too having learnt the feat of strength and valour of that sage should be quickly the best of men and the disseminators of faith in the world.' Here *utthi* and *anuśikṣi* are forms of the absolutive, which add the termination *-i* to the verbal stems.

17. Now, it is to be marked that all these Ap. forms have found place in the Pkt.-texts and inscriptions, which approximately date between 200 B.C. and 200. A.D. The Pkts. in which the above-discussed forms have been embodied, belong to a very early period, as, in most cases, they do not show the change of the intervocal surds to sonants, the elision of the medial consonants, the cerebralization of the dental n and the dentalization of the cerebral (ṣ) and the palatal (ś), which characterise the second MIA. i.e. the later Pkts., mostly evidenced in the dramas. Now, let us consider here Grierson's definition of Ap. in the perspective of the above fact, i.e. the occurrence of the Ap. forms in the documents of the early Pkts. It is sure that we shall have to face an apparent contradiction which should be explained by the scholars, interested in the history of the original Indo-Aryan speech.

In his monumental Linguistic Survey of India, Vol. 1, part 1 Grierson explained Ap. in the words "While, therefore, literary Ap. cannot be taken as representing the speech of any part of India or even as representing one particular phase of development, it does, on the whole, give us a very fair picture of a stage of language considerably later than that of the literary Pkts, and at least as regards grammatical forms, serves as a link between them and the earliest stage of the Tertiary Pkts" (p. 123). Prof. Chatterji, who was the greatest advocate and supporter of this th of Grierson, spoke in a more clear and emphatic language: "The necessity for exact definitions in modern scholarship has established, in Indo-Aryan linguistics the use of the term Ap. to indicate the stage between the Pkts of the dramas (second MIA) and the modern vernaculars: a stage, as one can postulate from what has been said above, which was well established by 600. A.C." (Origin and Development of the Bengali language vol. 1. S. 51). It is clear from the above that according to Grierson and his followers, the Aps. were the real vernaculars, which derived their grammatical forms and structures from the spoken Pkts., of which the dramatic Pkts. of the second MIA were some literary forms, and themselves were the sources of the frame-works of the modern Aryan speeches. It should be said that according to the same group of scholars the literarisation of Ap. took place in the sixth century A. D. and its full recognition as a highly polished language, fit for conveying all sorts of subtle thoughts and ideas, came still later, when it became very popular. If the literarisation of Ap. happened in the sixth century A. D. it is quite possible to presume its origin as a spoken tongue barely one or two centuries earlier. Now, the problem is—if Ap. arose so late how its forms could make its appearance in the early texts, some of which go so far back as few centuries before the Christian era. The solution of the present problem necessitates a thorough investigation into the true nature and position of the Ap. speech. It may be stated in this concern that different scholars have suggested different definitions of Ap., some of which, directly contradict one other. Grierson's definition is one among the many and is the most commonly accepted one. If Grierson's theory be inadequate to explain the intrusion of Ap. forms in the early Pkt-texts, there is no other alternative but to discard it and seek a suitable one.

S. N. GHOSAL

MISCELLANY

Jalāl-ud-Dīn the Patron of Rāyamukuṭa

It is gratifying to note that even Mr. Dinesh Chandra Bhattacharya in his last rejoinder[1] has conceded on some points. His concluding remarks are: "It is quite possible that at the very beginning of his career our author might have enjoyed the patronage of Jalāl-ud-Dīn through his immediate patron Rājyadhara". This means that the Gauḍādhipa, mentioned in the works of Rāyamukuṭa, is to be identified with Jalāl-ud-Dīn. This was all what we intended when we wrote our earlier article[2], because other matters are so controversial that no definite conclusion can be reached unless some new and better manuscripts are discovered.

Chronology is one great weakness that we meet in our ancient history, and much more so in the history of the Sanskrit authors and their works. The one method that has been followed is the practice of quoting the older or contemporary authors by the subsequent writers. This practice establishes some kind of sequence relation between these authors but on no account can this lead to a fixed chronological date. If the authors are contemporary, the dates may vary within one generation, and if they are not, difference will be even more. Therefore it is impossible to fix a definite date, as has been done by Mr. Bhattacharya, in the life of Rāyamukuṭa or Śūlapāṇi merely from the fact that they were contemporary, or for similar reason in that of Śūlapāṇi and Vācaspati Miśra. The same remark applies to the date of Vācaspati even though he refers in his works to Mithila rulers. In spite of the careful work of Dr. J. Miśra (A short history of Mithila) the chronology of the later Maithila rulers is not above doubt, because no record of either Bhairavasiṁhadeva or Dhīrasiṁha have so far been found. Lastly, it was never our intention that Rāyamukuṭa ceased to write after the death of Jalāl-ud-Dīn in c. 1431 A.D. But it will be worth while to point out that there was a definite change in the political policy of the Muslim Sultans of Gaur when the later Ilyās Shāhīs came to power after the overthrow of the House of Rājā Gaṇeśa. This policy, though unfortunately not visualised in the recently-published book, *History of Bengal*, vol. II, ed. by Sir Jadunath Sarkar, is quite obvious from the fact of introducing the Abyssinian element in the political arena of Bengal. As long as they were powerful, it is unthinkable that any local Hindu could have got ministerial or high military appointments at Gaur. Literary patronage (which also needs a thorough investigation[3]) apart, it is extremely doubtful whether Rāyamukuṭa or his son could have received political appointments under Bārbak Shāh, as is held by Mr. Bhattacharya.

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[1] *IHQ.*, vol. XXIX, no. 2, 1953, pp. 183-190.

[2] *Ibid.*, vol. XXVIII, no. 3, 1952, pp. 215-24.

In his rejoinder Mr. Bhattacharya has been good enough to notice two newly-discovered manuscripts of Rāyamukuṭa—one a commentary on *Gītagovinda* and the other *Māgha-ṭīkā*. He observes, "The remarkable career of Rāyamukuṭa is divided into three distinct periods," which he describes, thus: "It should be carefully noted that only the academic title (Miśra) of the author is mentioned in the several colophons (of *Gītagovindaṭīkā*) and it can, therefore, be surmised that this unimportant commentary was composed before the author came in contact with Rājyadhara, who gave him the titles of Ācārya and Kavicakravarti". He then continues, "The *Gītagovindaṭīkā* mentions only the academic title of the author and also probably the *Kumāraṭīkā*. The four works *Meghadūtaṭīkā*, *Raghuṭīkā*, *Māghaṭīkā*, and the *Smṛtiratnahāra* exhibit only the two honorary titles Ācārya and Kavicakravarti in addition and these are precisely the books which mention the name Rājyadhara. There are now plenty of copies of the *Amarakoṣaṭīkā* preserved in various libraries and in every full colophon of the book five more titles are mentioned exactly in the same order, viz., Rājapaṇḍita, Paṇḍita-sārvabhauma, Paṇḍita-cūḍāmaṇi, Mahācārya and Rāyamukuṭa. The five titles are never mentioned in the previous works and, what is much more important, the title Rājyadharācārya found in the previous works is entirely discarded in the *Koṣaṭīkā*. This normally means that the author came to the royal court after his connection with Rājyadhara ceased most probably by the latter's death".

Before one is tempted to comment on this long observation, it is worth while to notice in extenso the two manuscripts of Kumāraṭīkā[4] in the possession of India Office Library and a manuscript of Raghuṭīkā[5], which have not been fully described in the Catalogue. These manuscripts were personally examined by me in the Library. The Raghuṭīkā is called *viveka*, *subodhā* or *dīpikā*, and all its nineteen *sargas* end with the author's name and titles, e.g. इति महिन्तापनीय कविचक्रवर्त्ति-राज्यधराचार्य-श्रीमद्वृहस्पतिमिश्रकृतायां रघुवंशटीकायां विवेकाख्यायां प्रथमः सर्गः । (folio 27)

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[3] There seems to be some muddle in assigning patronage of the Bengali and Sanskrit authors to the Muslim Sultans of Gaur. The subject needs re-investigation.

The title राज्यधराचार्य occurs only once more at the end of the fifth *sarga* (folio 99). In other places either it is completely omitted or simply आचार्य occurs. The other two titles are also sometimes omitted e.g. इति श्रीवृहस्पतिमिश्रकृतायां सुवोधायां रघुटीकायां चतुर्थः सर्गः । (folio 85)

In both the manuscripts the Kumāraṭīkā has seven *sargas*, and is called *subodhā* or *subodhinī*. At the end of each canto occur the author's name and his simple "academic" title, Miśra, e.g.

इति कुमारसम्भवटीकायां सुवोधायां वृहस्पतिमिश्रकृतायां गौरीविवाहो नाम सप्तमसर्ग-विवेचनम् ।

The other variations are:—

इति सुवोधायां कुमारटीकायां वृहस्पतिमिश्रकृतायां प्रथमसर्गविवेचनम् ।
इति कुमारटीकायां सुवोधिन्यां वृहस्पतिमिश्रकृतायां द्वितीयसर्गविवेचनम् ।
इति सुवोधायां कुमारटीकायां तृतीयसर्गविवेचनम् ।

The main point to note is that the titles महिन्तापनीय, कविचक्रवर्त्ति and राज्यधराचार्य or even आचार्य do not occur in these manuscripts. It therefore follows that the कुमारटीका was composed in the early career of Rāyamukuṭa when he had not yet received, according to Mr. Bhattacharya, the patronage either of Rājyadhara or of the Gaur king as has already been pointed out before. But Mr. Bhattacharya has overlooked the fact that both these manuscripts contain the following verse in the beginning:—

विद्यासु तासु विनयी (प्रणयी) गुणेषु
गौडाधिपादुपचितप्रचुरप्रतिष्ठः ।
सोऽहं यथामति वृहस्पतिरातनोमि
व्याख्यावृहस्पतिमलंकृतिकाव्यलिङ्गम् ॥

This verse definitely proves that *Rāyamukuṭa received recognition from the Gaur king even before he was a* राज्यधराचार्य, *or, according to*

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[4] Eggling, *India Office Catalogue of Sanskrit Mss.* nos. 3757 & 3765.

[5] *Ibid.*, No. 3743.

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the interpretation of Mr. Bhattacharya, before he came in contact with Rājyadhara. We are indebted to Mr. Bhattacharya for his analytical division of the career of Rāyamukuṭa, but the connotation of his three periods needs revision in the light of this verse. In all the three periods, distinguished only by the differing titles, he received due recognition from the Gaur king. There is no question of the intermediacy of Rājyadhara to lead Rāyamukuṭa on to the royal court as is held by Mr. Bhattacharya in his concluding remark. It is no longer possible to hold "that the author came to the royal court after his connection with Rājyadhara ceased." On the other hand it is likely that the Gaur king, who early recognised his merit, conferred upon him the various titles in different times.

The identity of Rāyarājyadhara, which is itself a title as has been said by Mr. Bhattacharya himself, cannot be finally decided in view of the mutilated verses of the *Smṛti-ratnahāra*. Even if we leave aside completely these verses, the other works of Rāyamukuṭa clearly show that his only patron was the Gaur king. Though in some of his works, he assumes the title of रायराज्यधराचार्य, मिश्राचार्य or आचार्य or महाचार्य no Sanskritist would interpret this phrase to mean that Rāyarājyadhara was the patron of Rāyamukuṭa.

Now to come to the verses of the *Smṛti-ratnahāra*, which are the only basis of Mr. Bhattacharya when he says that Rāyarājyadhara was the patron of Rāyamukuṭa. If I have understood him rightly, he speaks of only two difficulties in accepting our interpretation of the verses: (i) Rāyarājyadhara is an ordinary title like Rāyamukuṭa or Viśvāsarāya, not befitting a ruler like Jalāl ud-Dīn, and (ii) the grammatical inaccuracy in taking Jalāl-ud-Dīn as noun in apposition. It must be borne in mind that in the local Sanskrit and Bengali literature we find only ordinary titles like nṛpati or mahārāja being used for the Muslim Sultans. No attempt is known to have been made to translate the Muslim titles into local languages at least in Bengal. The title *Rāya* is one such example which was applied not only to local zamīndārs but also to independent rulers like Rāya Danuja[6] of Sonargaon. Hence the title रायराज्यधर need not imply an humble position. The whole phrase निजभुजद्रविणार्जितश्रीः श्रीरायराज्यधरनामपदं प्रपन्नः gives a very cogent meaning if we bear in mind the political events of the reign of

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[6] Zia Barni, *Tarikh-i-Firuz-Shahi*, text, p. 87.

Jalāl-ud-Dīn.[7] The grammatical inaccuracy is probably more structural than literal. In an ordinary sentence we should expect a noun to come first and then a pronoun or an adjectival clause. But this point need not be stressed too much. If we do not concede this structural defect, we meet with another great anomaly. Supposing that Rājyadhara was distinct from Jalāl-ud-Dīn and a patron of Rāyamukuṭa, it seems incongruous that Rāyamukuṭa should speak of his own patron as being rewarded by Jalāl-ud-Dīn with so many gifts in the same sentence. We should rather expect that Rāyamukuṭa had praised the qualities of Rājyadhara alone and not extolled Jalāl ud-Dīn above his own patron. In order to avoid this anomaly it is reasonable to infer that after praising the king in verse no. 3, the poet narrates the benefactions that he received from him side by side with the extollation of the king in the subsequent verses. On the other hand the text, as given to us by Hara Prasad Shastri[8] (apparently approved by Mr. Bhattacharya as he has not given his own) is not free from other metrical and grammatical mistakes, e.g. in verse V foot 1 we should have *brahmāṇḍaṁ* for *brahmāṇḍa*. In verse VI foot 3 we should have *subhagā* for *subhogā*. In verse V it is difficult to understand the appropriateness of the use of ātmanepada plural form *dadhate*. In view of these mistakes it would not be wrong to amend मन्त्रित्वम् into यन्त्रित्वम् and जगदन्त into गजदन्त as was long ago done by Dr. R.C. Hazra.[9] Mr. Bhattacharya points out that the "correction to 'Gajadanta', suggested by Dr. Hazra, is quite 'fantastic'. A proper name cannot be replaced by a synonym." This contention belies, to speak most humbly, the evidence of our own author who plays upon his own name thus: यः प्राप्तः प्रथितो बृहस्पतिरिति क्ष्मालोकवाचस्पतिः । (पदचन्द्रिका) In our ancient history we find not only synonyms used, e.g. Bhasma for Kāca,[10] Śakrāditya for Mahendrāditya[11], but also different names e.g. Devagupta for Candragupta[12], and even titles replacing the proper name, e.g. Devānāmpiya for Aśoka[13].

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[7] See *JASB.*, vol. XVIII, 1952, pp. 158-166.

[8] *Catalogue of the Sanskrit Mss., A.S.B.*, III, pp. 226-30, no. 2138.

[9] *IHQ.*, vol. XVII, 1941, p. 449.

[10] *Journal of Numismatic Society of India*, vol. XI, 1949, pp. 33-35.

[11] H. C. Rayachaudhuri, *Political History of Ancient India*, 6th edition, pp. 570-571.

The last point that Mr. Bhattacharya tackles is the date of *Padacandrikā*, and here he tries to maintain his earlier view that it was composed in 1396 Śaka = 1474 A.D.—a date which he found in the two manuscripts in the collection of V. R. Museum, Rajshahi. He refutes our contention that the date is that of the copy and not that of the actual composition in these words: "All the epithets in the verses without exception clearly point to the book itself and not to any early copy, where even the copyist's name is not recorded.........It is simply impossible to imagine that a copyist, without giving out his own name, would commend his handiwork for perpetuation by scholars for all time to come, while his original is fading away before his very eyes in less than 45 years' time. The verses under discussion ending with the phrase समाप्ता चेयममरकोषपञ्जिकेति certainly form part of the final colophon, which is variously written by different authors", and further Mr. Bhattacharya gives the colophons of योगसंग्रह and रूपचिन्तामणि to illustrate his point. (P. 186).

In the three verses (quoted in my earlier article) occurring at the end of only one manuscript of the *Padacandrikā* we get only two epithets:

(i) सद्यः संशयसञ्चयापचयकृद् व्याख्या विशेषोज्ज्वला पर्याप्ता पदचन्द्रिका ।

(ii) चारुविचारणाभिरचिता टीका

Besides these two adjectives, which, as Mr. Bhattacharya rightly points out, applies to the book rather than to the copy and which, we may point out, can be added even by a copyist, the whole tenour of the three verses prays for रक्षणम्. That this desire is generally expressed by the copyists as well, can be easily verified from the manuscript catalogues. To give only one definite example we get चिरायुरयं पुस्तकोऽस्तु in *India Office Catalogue*, vol. III, p. 165, no. 515. The colophons of the two other manuscripts, quoted by Mr. Bhattacharya, have the definite motive of recording the date and nothing more.

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[12] D. C. Sircar, *Select Inscriptions*, p. 413.

[13] *Ibid.*, see Aśoka's inscriptions.

On p. 187 Mr. Bhattacharya lists four great events in the life of Rāyamukuṭa and maintains: "It is simply inconceivable that this crowd of events of two whole generations could occur just within 15 years." It has never been our motive to limit the career of Rāyamukuṭa within 15 years. It is likely that he rose to fame even before Jalāl-ud-Dīn actually got the sovereignty and continued to write probably even after the death of this king. But of these early and late periods we have got no works so far available.

To conclude, Rāyamukuṭa received patronage from a Gauḍādhipa whose name is revealed to us as Jalāl-ud-Dīn. There is no evidence to show that this Gauḍādhipa was different from Gauḍa-vāsava or pārthiva of *Padacandrikā*. In all the three periods of Rāyamukuṭa's career, we find him extolling the Gaur king alone. Therefore, Jalāl-ud-Dīn can be the only legitimate patron of our author that we can speak of at present with the evidence at our disposal.

AHMAD HASAN DANI

The date of the Andhavaram plates of Gaṅga Indravarman III

In the *Journal of the Andhra Historical Research Society* (vol. XX, pp. 22 f.) Mr. N. Ramesan has published a set of copperplates of the Gaṅga king Indravarman III, found at Andhavaram in the Śrīkākulam District of the Andhra State. The plates record the king's grant of the village Toṭavāṭaka in the Kroṣṭuka-vartanī on the occasion of the solar eclipse which occurred on the *amāvasyā* (new-moon day) of Śrāvaṇa. The date of the plates is given in lines 19-20, which the editor reads as follows:—Śrī-pravarddhamāna-Tumvuru-vaṁśa-rājya-saṁvatsarāṇāṁ śate triṁśaty-adhike saṁvatsarāḥ 300 30 3[1] Śrāvaṇa-māsa amāvāsyā, i.e. 'the new-moon day of the month Śrāvaṇa in the year 133 (in words) in a century increased by thirty of the augmenting kingdom of the family of Tumburu.' It will be noticed that the year of the date expressed in words does not agree with that expressed in numerical symbols. The editor also has noticed this discrepancy, but he explains it away in the following manner:—"The letter for *thya* (?*tya*) and *thrya* (?*trya*) are almost identical and I have adopted *śate triṁśad-tray-ādhike* meaning 133." He then proceeds to show that the date of the grant read in this way, when taken in conjunction with that of another grant of the same king Indravarman, viz., that recorded in the Chicacole plates,[2] furnishes conclusive evidence for fixing the epoch of the Gāṅga era in A. D. 434. The Chicacole plates show that a lunar eclipse occurred in Mārgaśīrṣa of Gn. 127, while the present plates show that a solar one occurred in Śrāvaṇa of Gn. 133. The only epoch which suits both these dates is A. D. 434; for there was a lunar eclipse in Mārgaśīrṣa of (Gn. 127+434=) A.D. 561 and a solar one in Śrāvaṇa of (Gn. 133+434=) A. D. 567. The editor further points out that the eclipses (lunar or solar) which are recorded to have occurred in the Gn. years 51,[3] 127, 133, 154, 221, 306, and 397 did actually occur in the years 485, 561, 567 588, 655, 740 and 831 of the Christian era, which shows the correctness of the epoch A. D. 434. The Chicacole grant of Madhukāmārṇava, dated in Gn. 526, however, presents a difficulty; for according to this epoch, Gn. 526 would correspond to A. D. 960, whereas, the date of the king is fixed by other grants as 1019'. The editor, however, tries to get over this difficulty by supposing that there was an interregnum of 63 years between Gn. 397 (A. D. 831), the last known date of the Early Gaṅgas, and A. D. 894, the date of the coronation of Vajrahasta from whom all Later Gaṅgas trace their genealogy.

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[1] Mr. Ramesan says, "The numerals are undecipherable to me," and as a matter of fact they are shown by means of symbols in his transcript, but a foot-note says, 'The numerals 100, 30 and 3 are given clearly.' Perhaps the note was added by the Editor of the Journal.

[2] *Ind. Ant.*, vol. XIII, pp. 120 f. These plates are dated Gn. 128, Chaitra di 15 and record a lunar eclipse which occurred in Mārgaśīrṣa. The lunar eclipse must therefore be referred to Gn. 127.

Mr. Ramesan has very ingeniously dealt with the subject, but the proposed epoch cannot be said to have been proved; for, as shown below, he has not taken some other evidence into consideration. The grant edited by him is undoubtedly very important. Several Gaṅga grants no doubt mention lunar and solar eclipses, but they do not generally specify the months in which they occurred. Besides the present grant there are only two Gaṅga grants in which the months of the eclipses are specifically mentioned, viz. (i) the Chicacole plates of Gn. 128 which mention a lunar eclipse on the full-moon day of Mārgaśīrṣa and (ii) the Indian Museum plates of Gn. 308 which refer to a solar eclipse in Māgha.[4] The date of the present plates must therefore be very carefully determined.

As stated before, there is a discrepancy between the date expressed in words and that given in numerical symbols in lines 19-20 of the Andhavaram plates. The former date is Gn. 130, and the latter, Gn. 132, not 133 as Mr. Ramesan thinks. As stated above, the date is expressed in three symbols, of which the first two admittedly denote 100 and 30 respectively. The third symbol consists of two horizontal lines which appear to be slightly indented in the middle.[5] They signify the number 2, not 3. Had the number 3 been intended, there would have been three such lines, one below another. The date of the Andhavaram plates is therefore Gn. 132. As in several other places, the writer has committed a mistake in recording it in words. He wrote *samvatsarāṇāṁ śate triṅśaty-adhike* whereas the correct expression should have been *saṁvatsarāṇāṁ śate dvātriṁśad-adhike*.

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[3] It is not clear which grant Mr. Ramesan has in view. If he is referring to the Chicacole plates of Devendravarman, the son of Anantavarman (*Ind. Ant.*, vol. XIII, pp. 273f.), their date though written as 51 must be understood as 251; for the palaeography of the grant shows that it is of a later Gaṅga king. I know of no other grant dated in Gn. 51.

[4] The mention of this solar eclipse was not noticed by the editor of the plates. It was pointed out by me for the first time in f. n. 6 on p. 529 in *Ep. Ind.*, vol. XXVI.

Though Mr. Ramesan has thus read the date of the Andhavaram grant wrongly, it must be admitted in fairness to him that the correct reading of it given above does not affect the epoch fixed by him; for in Gn. 132 (A. D. 566) also there was a solar eclipse in Śrāvaṇa though that month was *amānta*, whereas it was *pūrṇimānta* when another solar eclipse occurred in Gn. 133 (A. D. 567). The epoch of A. D. 434 is, however, disproved by other evidence.

Mr. Ramesan says that his epoch satisfactorily explains the eclipses in all the Gaṅga grants discovered so far. It is not, however, eclipses alone which require to be explained. There are other details such as week-days and saṅkrāntis mentioned in some Gaṅga grants which have to agree with the proposed epoch. Even as regards eclipses, the matter is not beyond dispute. Take, for instance, the solar eclipse in the month Māgha of the Gāṅga year 308 mentioned in the Indian Museum plates of Devendravarman III. According to the proposed epoch of A. D. 434, this eclipse should have occurred in A. D. 742, but there was no solar eclipse in Māgha, *amānta* or *pūrṇimānta* in any of the years from A. D. 736 to A. D. 752. Again, the Ponduru grant[6] of Vajrahasta, the son of Kāmārṇava, states that the 5th *tithi* of Āṣāḍha in Gn. 500 fell on Sunday. According to Mr. Ramesan's epoch, Gn. 500 would correspond to A. D. 934, but the fifth *tithi* of Āṣāḍha śukla in that year fell on Friday and not on Sunday. So this date also does not agree with the epoch of A. D. 434. Take again the Ponnuturu plates of Sāmantavarman[7], which record a grant on the

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[5] The same symbol is used to denote 2 in expressing the day 20 in the Chicacole grant of Devendravarman I. See plate facing p. 133 in *Ep. Ind.*, vol. III. The dot that appears between the horizontal strokes in the facsimile of the Andhavaram plates is apparently due to a fault in the copper. Similar redundant dots appear elsewhere also in the facsimile.

[6] *JAHRS.*, Vol. XI, pp. 7f.

[7] *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XXVII, pp. 216f.

Uttarāyaṇa or Makarasaṅkrānti. The date on which the plates were issued is given at the end as the thirteenth *tithi* of the bright fortnight of Puṣya in the Gn. year 64. Now, according to the epoch of A. D. 434, the Uttarāyaṇa saṅkrānti in the Gn. year 64 fell on the 19th December A. D. 498, while the *tithi* Puṣya śu.di. 13 occurred on the 12th December A. D. 498 i.e. 7 days earlier than the Uttarāyaṇa saṅkrānti. This is evidently impossible, as the plates could not have been issued before the grant was made.

It is needless to multiply instances of this type. The three dates discussed above will show that the epoch of A. D. 434 is wholly inapplicable in their case and cannot therefore be the correct epoch of the Gāṅga era.

There is, besides, no evidence for the interregnum of 63 years between A. D. 831 and A. D. 894 as supposed by Mr. Ramesan. On the other hand, Madhukāmārṇava *alias* Devendravarman who was ruling in Gn. 520 and 526 appears to be identical with the homonymous predecessor of Vajrahasta III who was crowned in A. D. 1038.[8] The Gāṅga era could not therefore have started as early as A. D. 434.

Mr. Ramesan does not seem to have noticed my article on the epoch of the Gāṅga era published in the *Epigraphia Indica*, vol. XXVI, pp. 286 f. I have discussed therein all data furnished by Gaṅga grants published till 1942 when the article was sent for publication. I have shown therein that the Gāṅga era commenced on amānta Caitra śu. di. 1 in the expired Śaka year 420 (the 14th March A.D. 498). The correct epoch of the Gāṅga era is therefore A.D. 497-98 for a current year, and A .D. 498-99 for an expired year. Since then I have published two further notes discussing the dates of two Gaṅga grants which were discovered subsequently, (i) the Tekkali plates of Anantavarman dated Gn. 358[9] and (ii) the Ponnuturu plates of Sāmantavarman dated Gn. 64.[10] I have shown that both these grants corroborate the epoch fixed by me while they disprove all other epochs proposed for the Gāṅga era.

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[8] For a full discussion of this identification see my article on the epoch of the Gāṅga era, *ibid*., vol. XXVI, pp. 335f.

[9] *Ibid*., vol. XXVII, p. 192.

[10] *Ibid*., vol. XXVIII, pp. 171f.

I shall now proceed to discuss the new evidence furnished by the Andhavaram plates. As stated before, the correct date of the Andhavaram plates in Gn. 132 with a solar eclipse in the month of Śrāvaṇa. According to my epoch the *amāvāsyā* of Śrāvaṇa should fall in A. D. 629 if the Gn. year 132 was current, and in A. D. 630 if it was expired. There was no solar eclipse in the Śrāvaṇa (*pūrṇimānta* or *amānta*) of A. D. 629, but there was one in the *amānta* Śrāvaṇa of A. D. 630. It occurred on the 13th August A. D. 630. This is therefore the correct date of the grant. The Gāṅga year 132 was an expired one. It is again noteworthy that like some other later dates of the Gāṅga era, the date of the Andhavaram plates is recorded according to the *amānta* scheme of lunar months. This date thus corroborates the epoch fixed by me.

On the other hand, the evidence of this date is definitely opposed to the other epochs of the era proposed by others, viz., A. D. 494 by Mr. Subba Rao, A. D. 496 by the late Mr. J. C. Ghosh, A. D. 497 by Mr. B. V. Krishna Rao and A. D. 504-05 by Mr. Somasekhara Sarma. The years corresponding to Gn. 132 according to these epochs are stated below: —

Epoch of the Gn. era		Corresponding Christian year for Gn. 132
A. D. 494	...	626
A. D. 496	...	628
A. D. 497	...	629
A. D. 504-05	...	636-37

In none of these years was there a solar eclipse on Śrāvaṇa *amāvāsyā*. None of these epochs, therefore, holds good in the case of the Andhavaram plates.

The Andhavaram plates thus furnish an additional proof, if one were needed, of the correctness of my view that the Gāṅga era commenced on Caitra śu. di. I in A. D. 498 and that the months of the Gāṅga year were generally *amānta* and rarely *pūrṇimānta*.

V. V. MIRASHI

A Śātavāhana Legend

The texts of the Jainas record a number of stories regarding famous Indian dynasties. In some cases, historical corroboration can be had, while there are some which, though not supported by any other literary evidence, throw ample light on the reign of a particular king or a dynasty. One of many such stories regarding the Śātavāhana kings is given below as found in the *Bṛhatkalpabhāṣya* (vol. VI, pp. 1647-9)[1].

While describing the circumstances under which a monk can lend support to a mad or hysteric nun, the text (v. 6243) says that a person can become excited or hysteric in everyday life especially when he makes an unexpected gain (lābhamadena), or when he vanquishes an invincible foe. In order to illustrate the statement the following story of the king Sāyavāhana is given.[2]

In the city of Patiṭṭhāṇa on the banks of the Godāvarī, there ruled a king called Sāyavāhaṇa. He had an intelligent minister named Kharaga. Once the king ordered his Daṇḍanāyaya to capture Mahurā and report about the victory to him immediately. The general started for the campaign with all his army. But then he thought that he had forgotten to ask his lord as to which of the two Mahurās was to be besieged. Knowing, however, the urgency of the execution of the order and fearing that he might incur the displeasure of the king if he were to go back to him for further explanation of the royal order, the general divided his army into two sections and conquered both the Mahurās (Mathurā)—one to the south and another to the north (of Patiṭṭhāṇa). The news of this dual victory was sent to the king through a messenger.

Simultaneous with this message of victory, the king received the news of the birth of a son to him as well as of the discovery of a treasure. Getting all these three reports of good luck and joy, the king became boisterous and hysteric with joy. He began to beat his couch, strike the pillars and hit the walls. He spoke rumblingly like a drunken fellow about his own might. In the climax of his hysteric delight he exclaimed—

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[1] Published by the Atmananda Jain Sabha, Bhavnagar.

[2] *Mahurāṇatti daṇḍe, sahasā ṇiggama apucchiuṁ kayaraṁ/*
Tassa ya tikkhā āṇā, duhā gatā do vi pāḍeuṁ//6244//

Sutajamma-mahurapāḍaṇa-nihilaṁbhaniveḍaṇā jugava ditto/
Sayaṇijja khaṁbha kuḍḍe, kuṭṭei imāiṁ palavanto//6245//

Saccaṁ bhaṇa Godāvarī!, puvvasamuddeṇa sāviyā santī/
Sātābhaṇakulasarisaṁ, jati te kūle kulaṁ atthi//6246
Uttarato himavanto, dāhiṇato sālivāhaṇo rājā/
Samabhārakkantā, teṇa na palhatthae puhavī//6247

"O, Godāvarī! being adjured by the eastern ocean, tell (me) whether there is any other race (of kings) on your banks like that of the Sātavāhanas. (Indeed!) the earth does not topple down as it is well balanced by the (weight of) Himālayas to the north and by the king Śātavāhana in the south."

The minister Kharaga intending to enlighten the king out of this incident, let the king destroy many pillars and walls. After some time, the king came to his senses and seeing the devastation all around, asked his minister, "Well! who has done this?" The minister replied that His Majesty himself had done that. Hearing this, the king got angry and believing that Kharaga was telling a lie he ordered him to be beheaded.

But, as the minister was intelligent he was kept in concealment by other officers. After a short time, the king was fully pacified and wanted the counsel of the minister on some other matter. He, therefore, asked the guards where Kharaga was. On being told that the minister was beheaded on royal orders, king Sāyavāhaṇa became very sorry and repented for his act. Seeing that the king had come to senses and repented sincerely, the guards brought Kharaga in his presence seeing whom the king was very much pleased.[3]

A similar story is to be found in the *Prabandhakoṣa* of Rājaśekhara.[4] It, however, differs to some extent from the story given above. It refers to king Hāla of the Sāyavāhaṇa family who orders his *daṇḍanātha* Kharamukha to capture Mathurā, his subsequent capture of the two

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[3] *Eyāṇi ya annāṇi ya, palaviyavaṁ so aṇicchiyavvāiṁ/*
Kusaleṇa amacceṇaṁ, kharageṇaṁ so uvāeṇaṁ//6248//

Viddavitaṁ keṇaṁ ti va, tubbhehiṁ pāyatālaṇā kharae/
Kattha tti mārio so, duṭṭhu tti ya darisite bhogā//6249//.

[4] Ed. Jinavijaya, Santiniketan (1935), pp. 72-3.

Mathurās—one to the south built by the Pāṇḍavas, and another called Pūrvamathurā, associated with Kṛṣṇa—, the birth of a son to the queen Candralekhā, the king's becoming very proud and the concealment of Kharamukha by the ministers who wanted to enlighten the king.

The defeat of the Pāṇḍyas, whose capital was Madurā in South India, by king Hāla of the Śātavāhana dynasty is referred to in yet another text. The *Līlāvai* (c. 800 A D.)[5] alludes to the Siṁhala (Ceylonese) princess of the same name who is said to have fallen in love with the Śātavāhana king who sends his general Vijayānanda and minister Poṭṭisa for the capture of the country of Siṁhala. It tells us the account of the march of the Śātavāhana army upto the southern end of India with the defeat of the Malayāyalāhiva Paṇḍi-rāya (Malayācalādhipa Pāṇḍya-rāja)[6], and the marriage of the princess with the Śātavāhana king.

It is difficult to get corroboration from history to each and every detail referred to in this semi-legendary tale, as a complete history of the Śātavāhanas is yet a dim period in Indian history. That it is narrated in various texts is surprising. The city of Patiṭṭhāṇa is Paiṭhaṇ on the north bank of Godāvarī, 28 miles to the south of Aurangābād.[7] Our story relates that king Sāyavāhaṇa ordered his general from the city of Patiṭṭhāṇa. This indicates that Patiṭṭhāṇa was probably the capital or at least a big military centre of that king. Paiṭhaṇ became the capital of Gotamīputa Siri-Sātakani, far away from Govadhana or Govadhana-hāra.[8] As the Jain legends refer to the Sāyāvahaṇas of Patiṭṭhāṇa, and explicitly to king Hāla, it is quite probable that Paithan was the capital of king Hāla who preceded Gotamīputa.

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[5] Ed. Upadhye. A. N., Bhāratiya Vidyā Bhavan, 1949, see the introduction for other details.

[6] Upadhye, A.N., *op. cit.*, text p. 32, v. 147. 'It is between Pratiṣṭhāna and Rāmeśwara that we have to locate the Malayācalādhipa and Pāṇḍyarāja. According to Dey's Dictionary, the Malayagiri stands for the southern part of the Western Ghats, south of the river Cauvery, called the Travancore Hills, including the Cardamum mountains, extending from the Koimbatore gap to Cape Camorin. Our author mentions neither the name of the king nor of the territory over which he ruled and which included the Malaya mountain. Paṇḍirāya or the Pāṇḍya king must have been the ruler of the territory round about Madurā which was the Pāṇḍya capital". *Ibid.* Notes, p. 337.

[7] Law, B. C., *India as described in the Early Texts of Buddhism and Jainism*, London (1941), p. 77.

[8] Gopalachari, K., *Early History of the Andhra Country*, Madras (1941) pp. 156-7, fn. 23; also pp. 16-17.

Ministers Poṭṭisa and Kharaga, Daṇḍanātha Kharamukha, and general Vijayānanda remain more or less legendary persons as no historically corroborative evidence about them has come to light. As a matter of fact, even about king Hāla there is more literary and legendary evidence at hand than the epigraphic or numismatic ones.[9]

Regarding the extent of the Śātavāhana empire in the south, no evidence is available to indicate their rule upto Madurā, as the southernmost limit of the occurrence of Śātavāhana coins is Cuddalore near Madras[10]. There is also no other evidence to prove that these south Indian rulers were subjugated by the Śātavāhanas, except for the stories mentioned above[11] and the reference to a visit by a Cera prince to a Śātakarṇa king of Magadha in an ancient Tamil poem, the *Chilappathikāram*.[12] Even the account of the invasion of Ceylon via Madurā by king Hāla cannot be much relied upon. As Dr. Upadhye remarks, "The motif of a monarch marrying a princess for extending political power is well known in early Indian Kathās and it has served as an interesting theme for the drama. The idea of marrying a Siṁhala princess is decidedly attended with some adventure and romance. As yet no other source (than this Līlāvatī) for the marriage of Hāla with a Siṁhala princess has come to light; but there is sufficient parallel material near about which could tempt our author to introduce the plot of the marriage of a Siṁhala princess with Hāla."[13]

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[9] "Some of the inscriptions clearly testify to the existence of a race or family of Sāda or Sātavāhanas. One can easily surmise that Hāla stood for Sāda in a local Prākrit dialect, and that Sāda is a shortened form of Sādavāhana" Upadhye, A. N., *op. cit.*, p. 47.

[10] Rapson, *CIC*, pp. 22ff. The southernmost limit of the occurrence of the Red and Black pottery popularly but wrongly associated *only* with the Sātavāhanas by the archaeologists, is not yet known.

[11] It may be noted here that Khāravela also mentions 'Paṇḍarāja' from whom he seized pearls and jewels. (See Sircar, D. C, *Select Inscriptions*, Calcutta (1942), p. 209, l. 13). Was it the fashion of the monarchs of that time to extol their glories in this way?

[12] Quoted by V. Smith, *Early History of India*, (Oxford) 1908, p. 193, fn. 2, (Quoted from V. K. Pillai's, *The Tamils Eighteen-hundred Years Ago*, p.6). V. R. R. Dikshitar in his translation of the *Silappadikāram* (Oxf. Uni. 1939), remarks, "Mention is again made of the aid given by Nūṛṛuvar-kannar. The late Mr. Kanakasakhai identified them with the Śātakarṇi. According to the version in the epic these were apparently a class of people having their residence in the Gangetic tracts. It is said that they helped Śenguṭṭuvan with boats to cross the Ganges (canto XXVI, l. 176). The context does not warrant it to be the action of a particular individual but a group of persons. If the reference is to a certain Śātakarṇi it must be Śiva Śri Pulumāyi (A.D. 163-170). In fact the neutrality or rather the alliance of the Āndhras was a preliminary condition for the success of the northern expedition of the Cera monarch. That the Āndhras conquered Magadha and established an All-India empire cannot be gainsaid".—pp. 27-8. Again on p. 298, fn. 6 he

This much about the conquest of the Southern Mahurā or Mathurā by the Sātavāhanas. The reference to the northern Mathurā associated with Kṛṣṇa and supposed to have been captured by a Śātavāhana king as narrated in the story is also not confirmed by any historical evidence. Gopalachari, however, points out that "according to the Hāthigumphā inscription, Khāravela, in his second year, sent an army to the west disregarding Sātakaṁṇi. The army reached the Kaṇhabenā river and struck terror into the Mūsika capital or city. K. P. Jayaswal and R. D. Banerjee have shown that the Hāthigumphā inscription mentions a Yavana king Dimita who was forced by Khāravela's victorious invasion of Northern India to retreat to Mathurā[14]". If one agrees with Smith who holds that Śātakarṇi sent his army to the aid of his ally, Khāravela, then only one can visualize a possibility of the armies of the Śātavāhanas going upto Mathurā in north India[15]. No other evidence to support the occurr-

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remarks, "It is difficult to interpret this term. (i.e. Nūṟṟuvar Kaṇṇar). The difficulty lies in deciding whether the expression stands for a certain individual or a group of individuals. If it is singular number, it may refer to king Śātakarṇi".

[13] Upadhye, A. N., *op. cit.*, pp. 57-58. Many other parallels are also cited.

[14] Gopalachari, K., *op. cit.*, p. 37. Identifying Damita with Demetrius I (190 B.C.), he further remarks, "As Sātakaṇi II would have come to throne in 172 B.C. the synchronism of Khāravela and Sātakaṇi II is as probable as that of Khāravela and Sātakaṇi I."

[15] Smith, V., *op. cit.*, p. 196. The wording of the inscription, however, is 'acitayitā sātakaṃṇiṃ'. Sircar, D. C., equates the word 'acitayitā' with Sk. 'agaṇayitvā' (not minding). See *Select Inscriptions*, Calcutta. (1942), pp. 206-213.

ence of Śātavāhana attack on Mathurā is available. The coins of the Śātavāhanas are found as far north as Maheś[illegible], and a Sātavāhana king is mentioned in Sāñcī inscription. So probably they did rule the country upto Ujjain[17]. Smith, however, remarks, "Although no coins or monuments connecting the Āndhra kings with Pāṭaliputra, the ancient imperial capital, have yet been discovered it is possible that they may have controlled the kingdom of Magadha for a time [18]"

The story refers to a simultaneous capture of both the Mathurās which cannot be explained from the known history of any Śātavāhana king. Moreover, the term 'Hāla' can stand for Sāda (=Sādavahana: Śātavāhana) and might not refer as such to the king Hāla who preceded Gotamīputa Siri-Sātakaṇi, but to any Sādavāhaṇa king[19].

In the light of the above discussion, it may be concluded that it is quite likely that the story does not refer to an event of the reign of a single Śātavāhana ruler but possibly alludes to different events in the reign of different rulers in this dynasty packed together to present a semi-legendary tale. Or it may be that evidence regarding the history and extent of the Śātavāhana empire has still to come to light.

S. B. Deo

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[16] Excavations at Maheśwar were conducted by the Deccan College Research Institute, Poona, in 1952-3: Report in preparation. On the similarity between the Śātavāhana and Śuṅga coins from Mathurā, see Gopalachari, K., *op. cit.*, p. 40, fn. 59.

[17] Rapson, *op. cit.*, pp. XXIII-XXIV.

[18] Smith, V., *op. cit.*, p. 193.

[19] See, Upadhye, A. N., *op. cit.*, p. 47, fn. 3; also, 'Hāla...is a shortened form in Prākrit of Sātavāhana which was a dynastic title derived from the name of an earlier king and used by many a subsequent ruler in that family". p. 55.

Some Passages from the Kavindra-vacana-samuccaya

When one considers the difficulties of editing a work from a single, "fragmentary and in many places dilapidated" manuscript, one must admire the great skill and scholarship with which the *Kavīndra-vacana-samuccaya* has been edited (Bibliotheca Indica, 1912) by the veteran Sanskritist Dr. F. W. Thomas. There are, however, some passages which, in spite of his care, remain obscure chiefly on account of the corrupt character of his MS. We propose to consider, in all humility, some of these passages, and suggest emendation or correction to make them sufficiently intelligible.

(1)

The stanza 23 on p.8 is one such instance as does not admit of easy sense and syntax. It runs thus:

विष्णोर्दानववाहिनीप्रमथनेष्व्यापूरणायादरा-
दात्तः पाणियुगो हरेण करजश्रेण्या श्रियालम्भितः ।
निर्यातो वदनेन कुक्षिवसतेः पत्युस्तलादर्णसां
शङ्खेऽपत्यपरंपरावृत इव श्रेयांसि पुष्णातु वः ॥

The stanza evidently describes the conch-shell (Śaṅkha) of Viṣṇu, which arose out of the churning of the ocean; but as it stands it is difficult to construe it properly. As the MS here is admittedly corrupt, I would suggest four simple emendations, which are nothing more than orthographical, but which would make the Anvaya and the Artha clear. These are: पाणियुगे (for पाणियुगो; the word युग is seldom masculine in Classical Sanskrit), करजश्रेण्याः श्रिया लम्भितः (for करजश्रेण्या श्रियालम्भितः), कदनेन (for वदनेन), and शङ्खो (for शङ्खे). The principal sentence would then be: विष्णोः शङ्खो वः श्रेयांसि पुष्णातु. The remaining words constitute dependent clauses or phrases qualifying शङ्खः namely, हरेण पाणियुगे आत्तः, करजश्रेण्याः श्रिया लम्भितः, कुक्षिवसतेः अर्णसां पत्युस्तलात् कदनेन निर्यातः, अपत्यपरंपरावृत इव. The sense would then be: May the conch-shell of Viṣṇu promote your felicity; (the conch-shell) which by churning (कदनेन) arose from the depth of the ocean (निर्यातः पत्युस्तलादर्णसां) abiding in caverns

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(कुक्षिवसतेः[1]) ; (the conch-shell) which taken in both hands by Hara was made to receive (लम्भित=प्रापितः)[2] the glow of (his) finger-nails, and which (therefore) looked as if it was surrounded (or covered) by a series of (its own) progeny (अपत्यपरंपरावृत इव), i.e. by a series of small conch-shells. The description of the glow of finger-nails or toe-nails is a commonplace in Sanskrit literature; but the conceit here is that the tiny glow of the finger-nails of Hara's hands are like a series of small conch-shells covering the big conch-shell of Viṣṇu held in the hand. The word निर्यातः cannot be "gen.sing. agreeing with Viṣṇu,' as conjectured by the editor; for it is the conch-shell which arose, and not Viṣṇu, from the ocean; evidently निर्यातः is nominative singular qualifying शङ्खः. The editor interprets अपत्यपरंपरावृतः as "an heirloom from his father, the ocean", but it is not clear whose father is meant; and the editor overlooks that the verb is not आ+√वृत् 'to devolve', but आ+√वृ 'to cover'. The only difficulty of our proposed emendations is with regard to कदनेन (for वदनेन). The lexicons give 'slaughter, havoc, destruction' as the ordinary meaning of कदन. But the word वदनेन in the context in which it occurs hardly makes any sense. It is possible to replace it by a better word, but we have suggested कदनेन as the nearest in sound and orthography, in the secondary sense of disturbance i. e. मन्थनेन (by churning).

(2)

The last two Pādas of stanza 93 are admitted by the editor himself as "exhibiting some grammatical peculiarities,' which, he thinks, must have been intentional if Bāṇa was the author. The attributions in Anthologies are notoriously uncertain; but whether the verse is Bāṇa's or not, there is not much doubt that it is given here in a corrupt form. The Pādas read thus:

उत्ताम्यत्तालवश्च प्रतपति तरणानांशवी तापतन्द्री-
मद्रिद्रोणीकुटीरे कुहरिणि हरिणा रात्रयो यापयन्ति ।

Here the whole difficulty lies in the irregular रात्रयः (for fem. acc.

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[1] As an adjective of the ocean it is possible that there is a pun on the word कुक्षिवसति implying the ocean's abiding in the belly of Agastya who drank it up.

[2] The reading आलम्भितः can also be maintained, as आ+लभ् 'to touch' is found used in such phrases as मूर्धानमालभे 'I touch my head'.

pl. रात्रीः) in हरिणा रात्रयो यापयन्ति ; and the solution lies in emending the sentence as हरिणारातयो (=सिंहाः) यापयन्ति. The deer hardly ever roams in the echoing caverns of mountains, where the lion would find a better resting place from the heat of the summer sun. The other slight emendation would be तरणावांशवीं. The whole sentence then can be construed as follows: तरणौ (=सूर्ये) प्रतपति (सति), उत्ताम्यत्तालवो हरिणारातयः कुहरिणि अद्रि-द्रोणीकुटीरे आंशवीं (=अंशुसंबन्धिनीं) तापतन्द्रीं यापयन्ति. In 1921 I communicated this suggestion of mine to Dr. Thomas who kindly accepted it. Subsequently I found that my conjectural emendation was confirmed fortunately by the citation of these two Pādas in Kuntaka's *Vakrokti-jīvita* (ed. S. K. De, 2nd ed., Calcutta 1928, p. 41) which, according to its Jaisalmere MS, reads as I have suggested above, although the variant reading of its corrupt Madras MS is in a much worse form: हरिणा रात्रयो पाययन्ति !

(3)

There are some other small emendatory suggestions.

St. 2d. From the indication (corrupt) of the MS. मारा मारवधूस्तनाश्च would be a better reading. In any case, वार-(or मार-)वधूस्तनाः cannot refer to Buddha's wives (as in Exegetical Notes), but to courtesans or ladies in the train of Māra.

St. 128b. Perhaps प्रम्लाननीलोकसि (ओकस्=गृह) would avoid the unexpected प्रक्रमभङ्ग.

St. 249b. Better read हृदय त्वं as in MS.

St. 275d. पुष्यति (for शुष्यति) would suit the context better.

St. 289d. Perhaps श्वासावधूतः शिखी (*Padyāvali*) is an emendation, but it does not give a better sense or construction.

St. 292b. The Pāda is metrically defective, as two Aksaras are wanting. Should we read तयोस्तलमेवमागान् ?

St. 357b. The Sp reading सहते (or सहसा) seems preferable, as it supplies a verb to complete the sense. Similarly, the readings निन्द्यते (in St. 516a), विनिर्मित (in St. 353a), and मानपरिग्रहे परिकरः (in St. 358d), given by all texts, appear preferable to the inferior and possibly corrupt readings of the MS.

St. 433b. Should we read नेत्राश्रुणा for the lost letters?

A few misprints, not noted in the list of correction or the exegetical notes, may be mentioned here. The misprints should be corrected as given below:

St. 17d. श्वकोरान्
27c. इत्याकूतजुषः
33d. प्रसुप्तम्
39c. वक्त्र
250b. अवलोकनमेव.
261b. वेणीगुणेन.
265d. यदिहान्यत्.
275c. संवादिनी.
285d. चापह्नुतः
92b. बालवल्ली
101a. यच्छ्रवण
165c. उत्सहेत
169a. दूर्वाश्यामो, corrected in the Pratīka Index.
286b. बाष्प
392b. प्रत्यायमानादिषु.
434a. चक्षुषि and लोलाम्बुजं.
437d. इत्यवेहि.

In the Exegetical Notes:

P. 200, no. 223. प्रेमपङ्क.
P. 202, no. 241. मुखचन्द्रं.
P. 221, no. 406. अज्ञातोपनतेन.

In Stanza 34d, it is curious that पुररिपु is employed as an epithet of Kṛṣṇa, where one would expect the more usual मुररिपु. Is it a survival of the much older epithet पुरभिद् applied to the Vedic Viṣṇu because of his association with Indra?[3]

S. K. De

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[3] Since writing this I find (D. Kosambi, *Bhatṛhari-śataka-trayādi-subhāṣita-saṃgraha*, Bombay 1948, introd. p. 18) that the fragmentary work published by F. W. Thomas as the *Kavīndravacana-samuccaya* forms about one-third of an extensive anthology, called *Subhāṣita-ratna-kośa* by Bhīmārjuna-soma. (Viddyā Kara). Prof. Kosambi informs me that he has prepared an edition of this text from original palmleaf MSS found at the Ngor monastery in Tibet, which is being printed for publication in the Harvard Oriental Series. A publication of this work will, no doubt, solve some of these textual difficulties.

The Sātavāhana Kings Hāla and Sāti

While commenting on some of the Sātavāhana coins published by Prof. Mirashi,[1] Shri Parmeshwari Lal Gupta[2] attempts to weave a new theory round the legend *(Sā)tisa*, which Mirashi read on the obverse of two of the coins. The legend on the reverse of the same two coins was read by him as *Sala*, which was later on improved by him into *-ṇasala-*[3]. Mirashi then suggested that *-ṇasala-* was a fragment of the legend *Raṇa Sālasa*[4] or part of the name Sālavāhana or Sālāhana[5]. He identified this Sāla, Sālavāhaṇa or Sālāhaṇa, with the Sātavāhana Hāla or Sālāhaṇa, who is said to have been the author of the *Prākṛta Sattasāī Gāthāsaptaśatī*.

Mr. Gupta accepts Prof. Mirashi's reading of the legend on the reverse of the coins "in view of his (Mirashi's) vast experience in Epigraphy and Numismatics" even though "the legend on the reverse". as Mr. Gupta admits, "is not clear on the plate." But he does not accept Mirashi's reading on the obverse and having read it as *Rājña sa ...satisa*, restored it as *Rajno sa...(putasa siri) Sātisa* and reaches the conclusion that the original legend was *Rajño Sāliputasa siri Sātisa*.[6] On the basis of his own reading, he concludes that (1) "the coin belongs to Sāti and not to Hāla, and that (2) "Sāti was a king quite distinct (meaning thereby different) from Sātakarṇi and Sātavāhana."

Mr. Gupta then proceeds to discover three kings bearing the name Sāti. To wit: (1) Sāti of the two coins published by Prof. Mirashi and the subject of discussion here, (2) Sāti (it is Sati), son of Nāyanikā, of the Nāṇeghāṭ inscription[7], and (3) *Māḍhariputra siri Sāta*[8], read before by others as Sakasena[9] or Sirisena[10], of two Kanheri inscriptions. The form in which the name occurs in the two Kanheri inscriptions is Sātasa and not Sātisa as Mr. Gupta thinks. Mr. Gupta has not indicated in his article whether he distinguishes between *Sātasa* and *Sātisa* or not.

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1 *JNSI.*, vol. XIII, pp. 132-133, pl. VI, Nos. 3-4.
2 *Ibid.*, vol. XV, pp. 180-182.
3 *Ibid.*, vol. XIII, p. 117. 4 *Ibid.*
5 *Ibid.*, p. 132. 6 *Ibid.*, vol. XV, 181.
7 *ARSWI.*, vol. V, p. 60 Pl. LI. No. 1.
8 *IA.*, vol. XLVII (1918), pp. 155-56.
9 *ASWI.*, vol. V, pp. 79 & 82. 10 *JBBRAS.*, vol. XII, pp. 407-09.

Before pointing out the inconsistencies and contradictions in the statements of Mr. Gupta and that his conclusions are absolutely unwarranted and far fetched, I would examine the legends on the two coins.

The legend which runs round on the obverse of the coins is not clear as the lower portion of the letters is truncated.[11] It did not consist of more than ten *akṣaras*, of which five from VI to XI *ti*, *sa* (?), *ra*, *ña* (is read as *ja* by Mr. Gupta), and *sa* are clear and can be read with certainty. Between XI-XII and V there are traces of at least five more *akṣaras* which cannot be read with any certainty and may therefore be made to yield any meaning which the reader may desire for the convenience of his own views. If the letter at VII is read as *sa*, the legend can be read only as *Sa*……………(*sa*) *ti sa.* This shows that the legend which has been reconstructed by Mr. Gupta as *Rājño Sāliputasa siri Sātisa* could not be accommodated in the space available on the coin as it has 12 *akṣaras.* It will, therefore, be of benefit to Indian Numismatics to reject, in toto, Mr. Gupta's reading of the legend. It may also be pointed out here that even the reading of the word *Sātisa* in the legend has to be accepted with reservation in view of the difference in the form of *sa* after *ti*, *sa* at XI-XII and the illegibility of *sa* before *ti*.

As regards Mirashi's reading *Sala* or *-ṇasala-* on the reverse of the coins I can only say that the faint traces of the legend in the photograph as it is published makes any attempt at the reading of the legend an uncertain adventure. Hence the attribution of the two coins to Sālāhaṇa or Hāla proposed by Mirashi cannot be at present, when the reading of the legend is uncertain, accepted. This further makes untenable Mr. Gupta's attribution of the coins to a certain Sātavāhana king Sāti who, according to him, is different from Sātakarṇi or Sātavāhana. Mr. Gupta's theory of three kings bearing the name Sāti also crumbles to pieces.

It seems Mr. Gupta never cared to read my articles on the subject[12], particularly that on the two Sātavāhana coins, one of which bears the legend *Raño siri Sātisa* and the other *Raño siri Sātakaṇisa*[13]. The coin with the name Sāti (in the form *Sātisa*) was the first coin ever published with the name Sāti. Mr. Gupta is not correct when he says that "the coins of Sāti are known from many sources, but their attribution has been a matter of great dispute." He has neither pointed out the sources of the coins nor the names of the scholars disputing their attribution. Therefore, the question of setting aside "all these views" does not arise.

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[11] *JNSI.*, vol. XIII, pl. VI, Nos. 3-4.

[12] *IHQ.*, vol. XXVIII, pp. 68 ff; *JNSI.*, vol. XIII, pp. 35 ff.

[13] *JNSI.*, vol XIII, pp. 35 ff., pl. II, Nos. 13-14.

Mr. Gupta is also not correct when he says that some "scholars believe them to (be) the issues of king Sātavāhana", as no scholar ever did that. Mr. Gupta is again not correct when he says that the coin with the legend Sātisa was attributed to Sātakarṇi by a set of scholars; in fact it was I alone[14], who attributed the coin to Sātakarṇi (1) and before I published the coin and made this attribution no one could possibly be aware of this. Mr. Gupta has given no sources on which his statements are based. He similarly fails to give any indication of the evidence in support of his conclusion that "Sāti was a king quite distinct (different) from Sātakarṇi and Sātavāhana" and that "the coins (?) of Sāti can no longer be attributed of (to) them", and that "Sāti was a separate king."[15]

Of the three kings having the name Sāti and sponsored by Mr. Gupta, the first based on the two coins published by Mirashi and who, according to Mr. Gupta, was the son of Sāli (*Sāliputasa*) disappears from the scene in view of the uncertain reading of the legend as already pointed out above.

As regards the second Sāti of Mr. Gupta, it may be pointed out that the name as it occurs in the Nāṇeghāṭ inscription is Ṣati and not Sāti as Mr. Gupta thinks. What Mr. Gupta says shows that he takes Sāti and Sati to be the two forms of the same name, but his conclusions are altogether different. Mr. Gupta says that no attention was paid to the coins with the legend Sātisa. I would only ask Mr. Gupta where the coins except the one published by me[16] with the legend *Sātisa*, have been published? And Mr. Gupta himself failed to take note of the coin with the legend *Raño Siri Sātisa* published by me. On what then he bases his whole argument remains a mystery. The two coins, one with the legend *Raño siri Sātisa* and the other with *Raño siri Sātakaṇisa* published by me[17] were assigned to Sātakarṇi I on the basis of the exact similarity of the type, the characters of the legend and other evidence in support. While making my suggestion I never put forward the argument, attributed to me by Mr. Gupta, that Sātakarṇi was shortened into Sāta or Sāti for want of space. It is a figment of Mr. Gupta's imagination. I have identified Sāti of the coin published by me with Sati, son of Nāganikā of the Nāṇeghāṭ inscription and then both Sāti and Sati with Sātakarṇi I.

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[14] *Ibid.*, pp. 37 ff; *IHQ.*, vol. XXVIII, pp. 68 ff.

[15] *Ibid.*, vol. XV, pp. 181-182.

[16] *JNSI.*, vol. XIII, pp. 35 ff, pl. II, No. 13 and Rapson, *CCBM.*: *CAK.*, where the legend is not *Satisa*, but *Chaḍasātisa* pp. 32-33.

The third Sāti of Mr. Gupta has been created out of the legend in the two Kanheri inscriptions. The legend was read by Bühler as *Māḍharīputra Sakasena*[18], corrected into *Māḍharīputra sirisena* by Bhagwanlal Indraji[19] and later on read as *Māḍharīputra siri Sāta* by D. R. Bhandarkar.[20] This third Sāti also fades out of existence for the simple reason that the name mentioned in the two Kanheri inscriptions is not Sāti but Sāta. If Mr. Gupta thinks that Sāta and Sāti are the same, one fails to understand the labour that he spends in creating three kings bearing the name Sāti. The attempt of Mr. Gupta to read *Siri Sātasa* or *Siri Sātisa* in place of *Sakasa(da)* and *Sakasa(-)sa* read by Rapson on some coins. (Rapson only read [— -] सकस [द ?] स and [—] सकसे [-] स[21] and not what Mr. Gupta says) is nothing else but a desperate conjecture to discover all evidence in support of one's own suggestions. Mr. Gupta fails to have taken note of the coins of *Siri Candra Sāti*, which are the only examples, besides the one published by me, on which the abbreviation of the name of Sātakarṇi appears in the form of Sāti. This Candra Sāti (*Raño siri Caḍa Sātisa* of the coins)[22] had his full name as Candra śrī Sātakarṇi (Caṇḍaśrī Sāntikarṇa according to *Matsya*, Daṇḍaśrī Śātakarṇi according to *Vāya* and *Brahmāṇḍa*, Candraśrī according to *Viṣṇu*,

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[17] *Ibid.*, vol. XIII, pp. 35 ff. pl. II. 13-14.

[18] *ASWI.*, vol. V, pp. 79 & 82.

[19] *JBBRAS.*, vol. XII, pp. 407-409.

[20] *IA.*, vol. XLVII (1918), pp. 155-56.

[21] *CCBM.*,: A & K. pp. 10-11.

[22] *Ibid.*, pp. 32-33.

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and Candra according to *Bhāgavata*). This supports my view that Sāti is to be identified with Sātakarṇi and the argument which Mr. Gupta puts forward against my identification is nothing else but a repetition of Dr. Altekar's argument that names are shortened only on the coins for want of space, but not in the inscriptions. I have already pointed out before and which Mr. Gupta did not care to read that the name of Sātakarṇi was not shortened for want of space. In support of this view of mine, I may again draw Mr. Gupta's attention to the two coins published by me and assigned to Sātakarṇi. On the larger coin, the legend is *Raño siri Sātisa*, while on the smaller, it is *Raño siri Sātakaṇisa*. Except the metal and the size, the two coins are exactly similar in other respects and as already remarked by me, it appears that the hand that cut the dies for the two was the same.[23]

The above shows that Sāta, Sāti or Sati was a shortened form of Sātakarṇi and that Sāta, Sāti or Sati were commonly adopted in place of Sātakarṇi. Of course, the coins bearing the name Sāta and Sāti did not belong to one Sātakarṇi, but they were the issues of different kings bearing the name Sātakarṇi. It will be of lasting benefit to Indian numismatics if the theory of Mr. Gupta that there were three kings bearing the name Sāti, is rejected.

SANT LAL KATARE

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[23] *JNSI.*, vol. XIII, pp. 35 ff, pl. II. 13-14.

REVIEWS

RELIGIONS OF ANCIENT INDIA by Louis Renou. Published by the University of London, pp. ix + 139.

Prof. Renou's contribution to Vedic studies is indeed valuable, but it is a matter of regret that in this otherwise excellent study of Indian religions, he sometimes evinces a carping spirit while dealing with certain cults without fully knowing the facts, and entering into their spirit.

In his two lectures on Vedism, he says that he failed to agree with most of the past distinguished Vedic scholars in their conclusions regarding the antiquity, geography, cosmology and mythology of the Vedas. He accepts the view of the only Vedic scholar Bergaigne, according to whom, "all mythological portrayals are variants of the sacred fire and the sacrificial liquor" (*vide* p. 17). He ignores the remarks of Prof. Keith that "the poetry of Ṛgveda is mainly concerned with the *soma* sacrifice (vide his *Religion & Philosophy of the Veda*, p. 166) and that the Ṛgveda "contains the poetry used by the priests in the sacrifices to the high gods" (Ibid., p. 13). Prof Renou regards the Veda as a "literary anthology drawn from family traditions" and concludes that "the images of the Veda have a ritual significance in themselves ; they bring about the ordered functioning of a universe which is itself conceived as the scene of a vast sacrifice, the prototype of man-made sacrifices. Thus Vedism is already *yoga*......This, then, is the origin of Vedic esotericism which...is linked with the esotericism of later India" (pp. 17, 18). According to him "the Vedic and Upaniṣadic texts both seek the same end, but they use different means."

A sense of frustration pervades the Vedic study and this is not to be mistaken for the healthy scepticism of Whitney or Keith, says Prof. Renou. He mentions two causes for this : (1) the inability to establish chronology (p. 2) and (2) the uncertainty among the scholars regarding geographical environment of the Veda (p. 4). Without clarification of these two points, he maintains, progress in Vedic studies will remain difficult. He deplores that the high hopes entertained at one time on the discoveries at Mohenjo Daro and Harappa that much new light would be thrown on the Veda has been falsified. But the remarks of the Professor that the Indus Valley Civilization and the Veda do not appear to owe to each other anything are difficult to be accepted as final.

The author's approach to the study of Hinduism is quite new. H would take the present day religion as his starting point and trace in it the ancient religious beliefs. The present day Hinduism, he says, is a mixture of non-Aryan and Aryan cults, and there is in it very little of Vedic religion except its mythology. Hinduism, in his opinion, "is the expression of a great civilization and is closely connected with philosophical speculation and literary activity, and that it is a product of creative imagination and a systematic construction" (p. 48). He divides the religious books into three categories viz. Vaiṣṇavite Saṃhitās, Śaivite Āgamas, and the Tantras proper. He has utilised the oldest as well as the latest books to form a picture of Hinduism from the Vedic Upaniṣads to the 16th century Caitanyan Manual, *Haribhaktivilāsa*, and the 19th century sayings of Śrī Rāmakṛṣṇa. In its primitive level, the author remamks, it is characterised by idolatry, fetishism and animism. It has ritualism, *bhakti*, Tantric practices as also the *advaitavāda* and speculations regarding *pravṛtti* and *nivṛtti*. It has also a missionary spirit. He has dealt with the divinities like Śiva, Viṣṇu, Kṛṣṇa, Caṇḍī, Kālī, Ṣaṣthī, Grāmadevatās of the south, etc., and discussed *avatāravāda*, *bhaktivāda*, the conception of time, theory of *Karman*, *Yantras* of the Tantras, the transition from the neuter to the personal principle etc. In his third lecture, he deals with the modern sects of Hinduism. In pp. 99-109 he gives a brief historical survey of Hinduism from the Vedic period to the 20th century. In describing the modern sects as also in his references to earlier religious beliefs, he has taken undue liberty in putting his own interpretation, which may not be acceptable to many. His remarks e.g. that "the Brāhmasamāj was a partly social and partly religious organization; in some respects it was not unlike the clubs of Western society"(p. 106). His elaborate treatment of Tantrism is novel and interesting. His remark that "it represents the full flowering of religious spirit of India" (p. 84) tempts one to expect the same impartial attitude from him towards all the religions, but one is disappointed. For instance, when one reads that "Rāmaite *bhakti* remains relatively pure, it is the *bhakti* of a wife; Kṛṣṇaite *bhakti* is erotic, it is the *bhakti* of a concubine; religious beatitude comes to be conceived as a sort of carnal intercourse with the god in the idyllic setting of *Vṛndāvana*" (pp. 72, 73), one feels that he has missed the significance of Vaiṣṇava philosophy. The pastoral poem *Gītagovinda* reminds him of the "Song of Songs"! "The *Purāṇas* were written in a spirit of 'denial of history' and 'fear of history'!"

His last lecture on Jainism is more or less a matter-of-fact statement about the history of Jainism starting from the 22nd Tīrthṅkara Neminātha ending with his actual experience of the Terāpanthi sect. There is nothing particularly new except a few words of his appreciation of the rigorous discipline observed both by the monks and the laymen. He has not said anything about the nuns, whose austerities also deserve admiration. He has referred to their cosmology, conception of time, ātmavāda, theory of *karman* etc., but has not discussed their *syādvāda*.

It is rather strange that he has passed over Buddhism though he has referred to it in many places in connection with both Hinduism and Jainism.

Within the compass of 133 pages, Prof. Renou has dealt with almost every aspect of Indian religion and its vicissitudes during 3000 years. It is unfortunate that throughout the book, the author casts a fling at the scholars who took up for study and research only one or two periods or aspects of the Indian religions, and this attitude is unworthy of a great scholar, and still more the claim that he has formed a more correct estimate of the Indian religions from Vedism to the 20th century religious developments.

S. K. D.

THE CAREER OF MIR JAFAR KHAN (1757-65 A.D.) by Atul Chandra Roy, M.A., (Cal), Ph. D., (Lond.), Das Gupta and Co., Ltd. 54-3 College St., Calcutta 1953.

This well-documented volume, originally submitted as a thesis for Doctorate of London University, deals with an important, but hitherto obscure chapter in the history of Bengal. Perhaps the opprobrium attached to the name of Mir Jafar stood in the way of historians to take stock of the happenings of the time.

Though primarily concerned with the career of Mir Jafar, the author has incidentally shown how political power in Bengal slowly passed into the hands of the British. The author points out that the Battle of Plassey (1757), ingloriously won by the English through the treachery of Mir Jafar, and a mistake of Sirajuddaulah, is wrongly supposed to lay the foundation of the British Empire in India. Dr. R. C. Majumdar in his foreword endorses this view. Emphasis is laid on the lack of unity and patriotism among the Indians and on the presence of courage, organizing power, and quick action of the British, which helped them to build the empire. After all, Col. Clive, though a soldier, had a keen political insight and knew how to take full advantage of the situation. More trade, more money, and more power were his motto. So he wanted a safe and pliable man. And on whom could his choice fall but Mir Jafar? An unknown figure from Arabia, a penniless adventurer, first as a petty officer with a salary of Rs. 100 per month rising up to the position of a general of Aliverdi, Jafar Khan was found to be the right person for his purposes by setting him up as the Nawab of Bengal. The author says that he was treacherous to the core, anti-national, immoral, ungrateful, absolutely innocent of statesmanship, and was therefore picked up for the furtherance of the objects in view. When he dreamt of ruling like a real Nawab, he was deposed, and his son-in-law Mir Kasim was appointed in his place. He however soon proved himself to be too independent and therefore undesirable. So he was deposed and Mir Jafar was selected for the second time.

The author has taken care to depict Mir Jafar in his true colours. But it is difficult to agree from the data collected by him that Mir Jafar was all along an unwilling instrument in the hands of the British. The author holds the view that perhaps Mir Jafar did not give orders for murdering Sirajuddaulah. He had no broader vision and could not discern what would conduce to the good of the country. He preferred present pleasure to future happiness, and ruined the country for selfish ends. It was impossible for him to feel the humiliation in his submission to the British. Being installed as a Nawab he distributed large sums to the Company's officials (including Clive receiving Rs. 20,80,000/-) "with a view to purchase an influence" (p. 92). When he was installed as Nawab for the second time, he did not agree to all the stipulations of the treaty, but made some changes (pp. 230 ff). This however does not prove his independent character. On the other hand, the terms to which he agreed gave much more power to the Company and "were to the distinct advantage of the Company and its servants without the slightest consideration either for the restored Nawab or for the interests of the country in general."

After the death of Aurangzeb till the rise of the British power in India, the central authority at Delhi grew weak. Power was usurped in the provinces by different adventurers, and conspiracy, murder, and drastic changes were the order of the day. The history of India was in reality the histories of the various provinces pieced together. It was therefore necessary that these provincial histories should be reconstructed on the materials available. The author is to be congratulated for his valuable contribution to this reconstruction.

S. K. D.

Select Contents of Oriental Journals

Bhāratīya Vidyā, vol. XV, no. 1 (1954)

KESHAVRAM K SHASTREE.—*A Holy Home of Gujarati Poetry.* Junagadh, possessing the famous Vaiṣṇava temple of Dāmodara, has produced Narasiṃha Mehta, the first rank lyrical poet of Mediaeval Gujarat. So also, Prabhāsa Pāṭaṇa, the holy land of Somanātha, has given us two Vaiṣṇavite Gujarati poets of considerable importance, viz. Bhīma and Keśava Hṛderāma. Bhīma composed his narrative poems *Harilīlā-ṣoḍaśa-kalā* and *Prabodha-prakāśa* during the last quarter of the 15th century. The two works respectively are the summarised versions of the *Bhāgavata-purāṇa* and the *Prabodhacandrodaya Nāṭaka* in Gujarati. Keśava wrote his *Kṛṣṇakrīḍā-kāvya* in 40 cantos dealing with Kṛṣṇa's life at Vṛndāvana, and displaying in the work the poetical skill of a high order.

SADASHIVA L. KATRE.—*Kāśī Viśveśvara Temple: A Brief Survey.* The original *Jyotirliṅga* of Viśveśvara at Banaras is presumed to have been referred to in Yuan Chwang's Records in the 7th century A.C. The image was subjected to successive transfers to different places from the 11th or 12th century onwards. The original temple had experienced at different times the fury of the ruthless invaders and the fanaticism of the Muslim rulers. The temple once restored through the efforts of Nārāyaṇabhaṭṭa about the year 1569 had, just after a century, been again pulled down by the orders of Aurangzeb. The present shrine, erected during the late 18th century by Ahalyābai, occupies a small plot of land near the original site of the great temple where a mosque stands at present.

M. R. MAJUMDAR.—*Two Sculptures (of Pārvatī as Śabara Kanyā) from Western India.* No iconographical texts come to our help in identifying the two fine sculptures described in the paper. They are however believed to have been representations of Śiva's consort in the attire of a forest girl in the context of her penance in the mountains. Both of the sculptures come from Saurāṣṭra in Western India—one from the ruins of the Somanātha temple and the other from the Iḍar State territories.

N. DEVARAJ SARMA.—*Gaṇeśa and the Antiquity of some Śaiva Myths.* The writer of the paper thinks that many of the later day Hindu myths have their roots in the ancient rituals of the sacrificial cult. He attempts to find out a Vedic basis of the Gaṇeśa legend and to indicate the process through which the Vedic lord of the Gaṇas was transformed into the Purāṇic deity.

RAM SHANKAR BHATTACHARYA.—*Importance of the first Words of the Gaṇapāṭhas.* Pāṇini has possibly utilised in his work the earlier Gaṇapāṭhas after having introduced in them necessary changes to suit his own purpose. Instances are discussed in the paper to show that the first words of these Gaṇas indicating the entire group of words enumerated in them have some particular importance for which they have been put first.

H. D. VELANKAR.—*Maṇḍalīka Mahākāvya of Gaṅgādhara Kavi.* The Sanskrit poem is being critically edited.

LUDWICK STERNBACH.—*Gujarat as known to Mediaeval Europe.* This account of Gujarat is based on the records of various European travellers of the Mediaeval period.

Bulletin of the Deccan College Research Institute,
vol. XII, nos. 3-4

V. A. R. SASTRI.—*Śāstra—An Independent Pramāṇa.* The Note deals with the importance of *Śāstra-pramāṇa* and its scope and nature as recognised by the Āstika systems of Indian philosophy, particularly the two schools of Mīmāṃsā, Pūrva and Uttara.

LUDO J. ROCHER.—*The Vīramitrodaya on the Right of Private Defence.* An offence done in the exercise of the right of private defence is exempted from punishment. The *Vyavahāra-prakāśa* section of Mitramiśra's *Vīramitrodaya* deals exhaustively with the subject including the extent and limitations of the exemptions. The relevant passages quoted by Mitramiśra from Dharmaśāstra literature have been translated into English with explanatory observations.

Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies, University of London, vol. XVI, pt. 2 (1954)

J. BOROUGH.—*The Language of the Buddhist Sanskrit Texts.* In this discussion of some of the aspects of Edgerton's works on

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the subject,—the Buddhist hybrid Sanskrit, several important questions have been raised by the writer, showing that styles and features differ in different texts of the Buddhist Sanskrit literature. The peculiarities which are regular and common in one text are sometimes unknown in another.

Journal of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society,
vol. 28, pt. II (1953)

J. C. Tavadia.—*Zoroastrian and Pre-Zoroastrian.* Mythology, rituals and essential teachings are discussed.

R. Wood.—*The Hill Tribes of Assam.*—A comprehensive account of the various tribes of Assam is given.

P. C. Divanji.—*Yogayājñavalkya, chs. 7-12.* This is the last instalment of the critical edition of the well-known Yoga treatise called *Yogayājñavalkya.*

Journal of the Oriental Research, Madras, vol. XXII, pts. I-IV

H. H. Ingalls.—*The Comparison of Indian and Western Philosophy.* The discussion aims at showing that similar results have been achieved in India and the West by different methods and that the theories of the Western philosophy are not wholly foreign to the Indian tradition. There are however, it is admitted, certain differences of emphasis.

—*The Purpose of Sanskrit Studies Today.* As the entire Indian culture is either expressed in Sanskrit or inflenced by Sanskrit writings, the revival of the study of Sanskrit is specially urged.

Adris Banerji.—*Buddha's Rajgir.* Ancient places and relics of interest lying in and about Rajgir in Bihar are described.

Maheswar Neog.—*Hayagrīva in Assam.* Different versons of the story in respect of the God Viṣṇu manifesting himself as Hayagrīva (the horse-headed) and taking his abode on the Maṇikūṭa hill at Hajo in Assam are given from the Purāṇic and Tāntric sources as well as from an Assamese poetical work of the 18th century. The temple of Hayagrīva at Hajo is described and the daily performance of the worship of the deity as practised there is related in detail.

S. Venkitasubramania Iyer.—*Acyuta Piṣāroṭi: His Date and Works.* Acyuta Piṣāroṭi, a great adept in Astronomy flourished in Malabar in the latter half of the 16th century. He composed a number of treatises on Astronomy and one work on Sanskrit grammar, and left behind a line of outstanding pupils.

D. C. SIRCAR.—*Accession of Gajapati Bhānu IV*. It is argued in the paper that the exact year when the last imperial Gaṅga ruler Bhānu IV had ascended the throne cannot as yet be definitely ascertained. All assertions in this respect are proved inconclusive.

M. VENKATARAMAYYA.—*Vācaspati, General of Rāṣṭrakūṭa Kṛṣṇa III*. The Bhilsa inscription has now revealed that Gājāṅkuśeya Vācaspati succeeded his father Nārāyaṇa Gajāṅkuśa as General in the service of king Kṛṣṇa III of the Rāṣṭrakūṭa dynasty in the 10th century A.C. It is also learnt from the record that Vācaspati brought to his master resounding victories over the contemporary Cedi King and a Śabara chief named Siṃha.

HENRI DEYDIER.—*Rāmayaṇa in Laos*. The story of the *Rāmāyaṇa* as represented in the Laotian version of the epic has undergone considerable changes.

Journal of the University of Bombay,
vol. XXIII, pt. 1 (July, 1954)

KRISHNA P. MUKERJI.—*Hindu Positivism*. The achievements of the ancient Hindus in different branches of the positive sciences are discussed in the paper.

LANGUAGE (Journal of the Linguistic Society of America)
vol. 30, no. 1 (January-March, 1954)

W. NORMAN BROWN.—*Prakrit Vanadava 'tree sap, self-control'*. An obscure stanza in Jain Mahārāṣṭrī occurring in the story of Citta and Sambhūya (Sanskrit Citra and Sambhūta) as found in the commentary on the *Uttarādhyanasūtra* has been explained in this note. The word *vanadava* taken as an equivalent of Sanskrit *vanadrava* is interpreted here as a pun meaning the fluid of a tree as also the solvent for the wood of *karma*.

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in Mithila in the latter half of nineteenth century. He composed a number of treatises on Astronomy and the works on Sanskrit grammar, and left behind a host of competent pupils.

D. C. Sircar.—*Accession of* [illegible]. It is argued in the paper that the exact year when the last imperial Gupta [illegible] Bhānu [illegible] ascended the throne [illegible] is yet to be definitely ascertained. All assertions in this respect are proved [illegible].

M. Venkataramayya.—*Vīrapati, General of Rāṣṭrakūṭa Kṛṣṇa III.* The Ghāṭa inscription has now revealed that [illegible] Vīrapati succeeded his father Nārāyaṇa as General of the army of king Kṛṣṇa III of the Rāṣṭrakūṭa dynasty in the 10th century A.C. It is also learnt from the record that Vīrapati brought to his master resounding victories over the contemporary Cedi king and a Śabara chief named [illegible].

[illegible].—*Rāmāyaṇa of* [illegible]. The story of the Rāmāyaṇa as reproduced in the [illegible] version of the epic has undergone considerable changes.

Journal of the University of Bombay
Vol. XXIII, pt. 1 (July, 1954)

Krishna P. [illegible].—*Hindu Eclecticism.* The achievements of the ancient Hindus in different branches of the positive sciences are discussed in the paper.

Language—Journal of the Linguistic Society of America
Vol. 30, pt. 1, January-March, 1954

W. Norman Brown.—*[illegible]* An obscure stanza [illegible] occurring in the story of [illegible] and [illegible] as found in the commentary on the Uttarādhyayana has been explained in the note. The word [illegible] instead of Sanskrit [illegible] is interpreted [illegible] as a post meaning the head of a tree as also the support for the [illegible].

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The Soma Lyricism of Ṛg Veda

Soma is the enlivening principle in the *Ṛgvedic* anthology. It is activity, the dynamic entity, the inspiring drought and the instigating mode. Uṣas permeates beauty and love everywhere; but Soma gives life. It breathes vitality not only into the cold ritualism, but also to every form of aesthetic enjoyment. Geldner observes that "the clarified speech—the poetic art—as it is represented through the *Ṛg-Veda*, had its chief cultural medium in the Soma cult. There is no festival poem or occasion without Soma, and without the songs of the poets there is no Soma drought. These guiding thoughts of the ninth book are complicated by the artistic poets, whereby the visible Soma filter and the ideal Seive of the thoughts are occasionally identified and exchanged. The songs are properly these that are employed in the preparing of Soma. The tip of the tongue and the clarified thoughts of the poets reveal the clearness of Soma[1]." The quintessence of the poetic art is here where the essential musical quality has been recognised. Almost all the metres find a place here though more than half of the songs are sung in Gāyatrī, the basic metre of all musical flexibilities. The figurative expressions like sheep, cow and cloud, for skin, milk and water respectively occur here. The language has been twisted immensely to suit the literary tastes. Conscious punning is already evident many a time. Most often they pun on 'vana' to mean 'forest' and the 'wooden vat'; on 'soma' to mean the 'juice' and 'Moon'; on 'indu' to mean the 'juice' and 'Indra'.

A good number of the Soma songs mainly describe the process of preparing Soma, or the feelings and thoughts of the poets when the juice is being extracted. It does not mean that all these are specifically composed for the ritual purposes. The song of Śiśu (9. 112), which can reasonably be called "an apology for poetry" clearly portrays the vocation of the poet and justifies it. There we find a proper distinction between the priest and the poet. It is the poet that composes these songs as he pleases and when the moment transports him. The extraction of the Soma juice is one such supreme moment in his life; and he is jubilant over it. The poetic spirit is everywhere and the more glaring thing in these songs is the rapture and joy which the poet felt. In this ecstasy one cannot find poetry rich in artificial embellishments, for they destroy the purpose. The emotions that are recollected, felt and expressed in this supreme moment of felicitous transport give rise to pure poetry and the whole ninth book is one such.

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[1] Vedische Studien, III.99.

All the Soma songs of the ninth book have found a way into the sacrifices, and some of them seem to have been specially fabricated with this purpose in view. The ritual songs are not all cold and prosaic, for the poets consciously endeavoured to make poetry even out of pure formalism. In so doing they had even to take recourse, in some case, to pure symbolism and figurative language, thus opening another fresh vista for the glow of poesy. The Soma songs are not at all an exception to this rule and practice. A few examples will make this clear. The purified Soma sits like the king above the contending tribes, amongst his folk (9.7.5). As it is poured through the filter the seers clothe it with robes made of milk (9.8.5,6). It swells to the heights of heaven and gently falls on the purifying sieve (9. 16. 7). The Madhu is the offspring of the sap of Soma (9. 18. 2). It bellows on the grass and sinks and settles in its home (9. 19. 3). And yet we have pretty lines like—

> "Clarified by the sieve of sheep's wool
> Soma rises to his fullest splendour,
> There he stands, as after battle
> Stands the hero by the stolen cows" (9. 16. 6)

With the art of the fingers the seers clothe and decorate this steed in the lap of Aditi (9. 26. 1). Like a swan he makes all the troop sing his respective song, as he is bathed in milk (9. 32. 3), and runs like a deer (9. 32. 4). The cows, whose milk is to be mixed with this juice, have sung in joy to him as a lady does to her lover (9. 32. 5). People deck him like the king of elephants and he sits in the woods like a hawk (9. 57. 3). Here the wood figuratively expresses the vats of wood. as is often the case in the Soma songs. One poet observes,

"हरिरोपशं कृणुते नभस्पयोरुपस्थिरे चम्वो
र्ब्रह्म निर्णिजे,' (9. 71. 1).

'He makes the cloud his diadem, the milk his carpet in both worlds, and prayer his robe of state.' The sacrificer is spoken of as his father (2), whom he meets to assume a new refulgent robe. He is excited by the prayers, while the waters make him wild (3). The ten sisters, a figurative way of saying fingers, have sent him on like a chariot (5). He sits in the bowls like a bird (9.72.5). He has to pass into Indra—"Indramindo vṛṣā viśa". This expression is a very commen one in the text, though it has an imaginative transference of the series. (9.2.1). A conscious punning on the words Soma and Indu, meaning also the moon, seems to be intended in

यः सोमः कलशेष्वाँ अन्तः पवित्र आहितः
तमिन्दुः परिषस्वजे (9. 12. 5).

Indu embraces Soma in the jars on the purifier. Soma is born on the mountains, but is praised in the sacrifices. It is placed for Indra as a bird in her nest (9.62.15). Soma enters the jar and stands there as a hero among the Cows (9.62.19), and Cows represent milk here.

This Soma-cult, and its activities gave rise to many ballads which are of the 'labour song' type to a certain extent. The pressing of the Soma cannot be pursued silently, for a particular deed can be carried out successfully and most cheerfully only when an aesthetic diversion unconsciously enters into the individual and makes him enthusiastic in his deeds. The pressing of Soma as described in 1.28 is accompanied as usual by a beautiful refrain—

O Indra, drink thou eagerly
of Soma liquor mortar-pressed.

The rhythmic and melodious way with which the poet begins to say how he has prepared the juice, enchants the hearers, even though, it is the most prosaic one.

2. "There are the broad based pressing-stones standing upright to crush the juice; where dual parts crush the stalk,
Are like the parts of man and wife;

3. There where a woman practises
The backward and the forward move;
Where as it were with reins to guide
They bind the cord with twisting stick'':

The next two stanzas are addressed directly to the Mortar:

4. Whenever thou from house to house
Art harnessed, Mortar for thy task.
5. Then utter here thy clearest sound,
Loud as the drum of Conquerors.
6. Lord of the forest, once the wind
Blew all about thy summit high;
8. Mortar, for Indra press thou forth
The Soma juice that he may drink.

The very opening song of the ninth book has its particular bearing on the process. In this set of purification and preparation we come across many fingers that press the leaves which are spoken of as ladies, as sisters; while the vats of wood where the juice is laid are treated as wood itself. The Soma juice in the vat is often compared to a sea, lake, reservoir. He has horns and weapons, with which he is enabled to quell all his foes. Often we are told that Soma is the bird, the hawk, the animal (9.96.43), the horse, the bull, the lover. The milk and the waters into which it is poured are often the robes he wears. The swelling of Soma is a flood. Even the cloud is spoken of as his robe (9.83.5), besides the cows (9.96.26); for it is mixed with water and milk.

The cows are mixing themselves up with the child Soma (9.1.9). The milk is mixed in Soma and Soma is a young one in their conception here. Soma flies to the vats as a bird (9.3.1). The sparkling drops of Soma flow like waters down a deep descent (9.6.4) we are told

''परि प्रिया दिवः कविर्हांसि नप्तो हितः
सुवानो याति कविक्रतुः'' (9.9.1),

''when he is laid between both the hands and pressed he sends us delightful powers of life.'' He delights men and is the best gladdener (9.67.2). It is the mark of transporting that is the vital note in these songs. The Soma drops deck themselves with milk as kings with praises and as the sacrifice with the seven priests (9.10.3). Soma is

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pre-eminently styled a Kavi, a seer many a time and the drop is its offspring (9.10.8). These drops when poured into the vats fall like rain upon the earth (9.17.2). As this wonderful horse is cleansed he enters into the songs like a pious king (9.20.5). These drops move like horses, cars, armies, winds, rains, and flames. (9.22.1.2). This seer flows to the purifier scattering the enemies as he is cleansed (9.27.1). Naturally as the juice is spread on the hide the dirt sticks up to it and the pure one comes up. 'Like waves of waters, skilled in song the Soma juices speed onward, as buffaloes to woods' (9.33.1). Here the term (vana) in वनानिमहिषा इव, has a double significance. With reference to the buffaloes it actually means a forest; and with regard to Soma it stands for the wooden vats. Apart from his robes made out of water and milk, the poet converts his songs also into the same category (9.35.5;43.1). He sports in the wood (9.45.5) 'In aspect he is like the sun; he runs forward to the lakes'' (9.54.2) This is a reference to the bright yellow colour of Soma in the vats.

Another poet observes,

आनः सोम सहो जुहो वर्चसे भर
सुं ष्वानो देव वीतिये (9.65.18).

'Pressed for the banquet of the gods, bring us might and speed, like beauty for a brilliant show.'

Pavitra's song (9.73) has a great literary and lyrical beauty, though it has a semi-ritual colouring. It is mainly occupied with the preparation of the juice. It opens with the verse—स्रक्के द्रप्सस्य धामत : अभस्वरन्नृतस्य समरन्त नाभयः । त्रीन्त्स मूर्ध्नो असुरश्च आरभे सत्यस्य नावः सुकृतमपीपरन्'' 'they have blown at the edge from the drop. The naves move to the place of ṛta. The Mighty one began to make three heights. The ships of truth have borne the righteous'. From the edges of the pressing stones the Soma drops noisily. "Nābhayaḥ" is a figurative expression for wheels, chariots and the swift Soma drops. The ships of truth are the vats where Soma is deposited. All this is pure symbolism.

As soon as he is born, this child clamours in the wood (vana); again a conscious double entendre is intended here (9.74.1).

The Soma drops are 'pleasing to look upon like beautiful, well-adorned women' (9.77.37). The cows bellow to the powerful Soma (9 80.2), and he bellows to them (9.82.1). This reciprocal phenomenon has given rise to many a literary twist in the matter of style.

Encountering the exploits of Soma (9.88) the poet compares him to a capacious car, to the team of Vāyu moving at pleasure, to Indra, to the horse of Pedu, to the splendour of Agni and to the vigour of a warrior. The pouring of the juice is happily depicted in another verse as the ten sisters driving the chariot horse to the place of rest from the fleecy summits (9.91.1). Caroused by mortals he is made immortal along with the sheep, cows and waters (9.91.2), the first two standing for their milk.

He is compared with the best in every species of the created objects. He is Brahmā among the gods, leader among the poets, Ṛṣi in the inspired, bull among the animals, hawk among the vultures, axe of the forests (9.96.1). Like a wave he stirs the wave of the voice (9.96.7). He is a hawk in the bowls, a bird spreading himself, and a banner seeking cows and weapons (9.96.197). He flows to the pitcher like a well decorated youth, like a chariot to battle, and like a bull to the herds of cows (9.96.20). He goes over the backs of sheep, as if he were accompanied by a mare (9.107.8). The sheep is a figurative expression for their skin.

Soma has a romantic aspect also. He is not only loveable, but also a lover, and sometimes even a beloved. The daughters of the priest have adorned him as if he were a beautiful youth (9.14.5). These are, of course, the fingers. Again ten ladies have sung to him as a maiden welcomes her lover (9.56.3) Soma, the red one, blends himself with the cows that yield their fair breasts. Here the cows themselves stand for milk (9.61.21). Every one does his best to beautify him (9.15.7.8). He settles down among men like a hawk moving as a lover to his beloved (9.38.4). The fingers are the glittering maids and sisters owning Soma as their lord (9.65.1). The sporting of the juice on the ox hide is a frequent figure in the romantic conception (9.66.29). He flows on the skin of the sheep like one longing a bride (9.29.3). Apsaras that live in the waters of the sea have seated themselves within the vat and flow to Soma (9.78.3) who is their lover probably. He gives pleasure as a wife pleases her husband (9.82.4), and moves onward like a youth to the youthful maids (9.86.16). He comes to the special place like the husband of women (9.86.32) and flies to the appointed tryst like a youth to his love (9.93.2). He is sung by the poets as a lover to his love (9.69.23).

We are also told that Soma makes the cows pregnant (9.99.6). It is the libation of milk which is made efficacious only when the drops of Soma are mixed with it. He moves to take his place like a suitor (Vara) as if he were a lover going after his love (9.101.14).

The beautiful hymn 9.112 is a satire on the manifold desires of man. It could be sung as an accompaniment to any kind of work, and here the refrain indicates that it was adopted for the work of pressing Soma[2]. Von Schroeder believes that this was used at a popular procession during a Soma festival when men danced with masks, representing Soma vegetation symbols. According to him, this small song has a very great value in the estimation and the building up of the cult.[3] But as everything in the view of von Schroeder has a reference to the religious cult and to the primitive dances and frivolities, and as the theme of this song is entirely foreign to the application he has given, his view cannot be upheld. Oldenberg views it as intended for a prayer at Soma sacrifice for attaining special wishes, and Charpentier follows suit. Another class of critics takes this as "an old popular song transformed into an address to Soma by attaching to each stanza a refrain which has no connexion with the subject of the song". And Kaegi and Geldner did not think the refrain to be original, when they published their Siebenzig Lieder. Von Schroeder believed that the refrain was added later for a worldly character. Grassmann has removed it as spurious in all the three hymns. But as Pischel has rightly observed, the national character is expressed in the Soma pressing refrain.[4] It is a supreme poetic diversion.

The last three songs in the ninth book can be said to form a trilogy representing the whole Soma cult in its various phases and giving vent to the emotions and feelings of the poets. The first one is by Śiśu and the other two are by Kaśyapa. Yet they have a very close affinity in all aspects. They have a common refrain. The tone in the second has a mystic and metaphysical halo around it. The last is a formal thanksgiving.

The first one is plainly a musing about various things in human life, and the poet sings it as he presses the juice. He is constantly reminded of the presence of the work he has engaged himself in, and this he repeats at the end of every thought. It opens with a statement of fact that all of us have various thoughts and plans, for the ways of men are manifold. The carpenter or the builder always seeks the ruins to make them new. The physician wants to find out the maimed, and the Brahman the person who presses the juice. The smith goes after the wealthy man with ripe plants, with feathers of the birds and with the shining stones; for only then will he be able to make out a living. Here follows the famous verse,

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[2] Winternitz: *History of Indian Literature*, 1.113.

[3] *Mysterium und Mimus*, pp 486

[4] *Vedische Studien*, 1. 107-112.

कारूरहं ततो भिषगुपल प्रक्षिणो नना।
नानाधियो वसूयवो अनुगा इव तस्थिम

'I am a poet, my father is a physician; my mother lays corn upon the stones. Desirous of wealth and with varied thoughts, we proceed like cows.'

This verse is important in a twofold way. First, it speaks of the existence and popularity of the various vocations irrespective of the barriers of caste, which do not seem to have come into vogue. Secondly it distinguishes the poet from the priest. The composers of the songs have very little, if not nothing, to do with the rituals. They uttered their songs as was their wont, and they never had any idea of composing all their poems mainly with the rituals in view. The last verse is beautiful containing a problem which he suggestively leaves out to be worked—

अश्वो वोल्हा सुखं रथं हसनामुपमंत्रिणः
शेपो रोमण्वन्तो भेदौ वारिन्मण्डूक इच्छति

'The horse would draw an easy chariot; gay hosts attract the laugh and jest. The male desires his mate's approach; the frog is eager for the flood'. This verse occurs immediately after the poet has recounted the various vocations, and revealed to us in plain terms that he is a poet, and not a priest. Here we find a justification of his vocation. He wants to have a happy path, always sportive, laughing and merry. These things are absent in any other office, and more so in that of the priest. A gay and detached life with all happiness is only the poet's privilege. Yet he cannot ignore the practical universe; and as such he is eager to gain riches, as a frog is for the floods. It is only when the floods come that the frog can utter its sounds; and only when a proper occasion comes can the poet sing. This is a "defence of poetry."

The last five verses of the next hymn have a mystic significance and importance; and hence they will be treated below. The last song (9.114) is a heartfelt obeisance to Soma. These two verses simply add to the imagery and to the mythology of the Soma cult. The Soma myths are innumerable, the most famous one referring to the hawk. In association with Indra, Soma shares many more stories and exploits. As usual the Vedic poets considered Soma as a very pleasing friend who bestows immortality. In this connection the poets gave vent many a time to a bitter punning on the terms *martya* and *amartya* as in:

> अमर्त्यो मर्त्यांना विवेश –
>
> 'The immortal has entered into the mortal.'

Delight, transport and bliss are some of the beautiful qualities that are attributed to Soma, the god intoxicating juice. He is the best grantor of bliss (9.1.3), and he has to 'make us better than that we are' (9.9.4). This mission of his is woven dexterously into a song as a refrain. He is the best of all creation, and is all the deities (9.5.9 etc). He is a sage, a seer, a wise one having great insight (9.12.4 etc). He runs through the realms of heaven (9.37.3; 48.1), as one poet would have it. In it there is a literary play over the visible Moon, and the invisible mystery of Soma. He gladdens us and gives us rapturous joy (9.43.1; 29.5 etc). He brings wisdom and delight (9.63.4), inspires the poets and gives them thought. By his songs he is a poet; yet he is a sage by wisdom (9.96.17). It is this happy union of love and beauty that made the poets idealise him and conceive of a mighty poetic creation. He is Ṛṣi-minded and even a maker of Ṛṣis (9.96.18). Yet he is a youth full of amorous passion. Still he is divine.

Soma is pre-eminently connected with light, with the immortal lustre hidden in the highest Empyrean. As such Soma finds a prominent place in the restoring of light by Indra and Bṛhaspati. Again one poet in his rapturous and ecstatic mood sings, अपाम सोमममृता अभूम अगन्म ज्योति रविदाम देवान् (8.48-3) 'We have drunk Soma and become immortal; we have attained the light, the gods discovered. This characteristic feature repeats itself in the last verses of 9.113.

The whole song has the usual refrain of the trilogy, but the last four verses prefix to it the words,—तत्र माममृतं कृधि 'make me immortal there'.

"O Pavamāna, place me in that deathless,
undecaying world,
wherein the light of Heaven is hidden,
and everlasting lustre shines......
"Make me immortal in that realm where dwells the king
Vivaśvān's son,
Where the secret shrine of Heaven is,
Where there young and fresh waters are......
"Make me immortal in that realm where they move even as
they list,
In the third sphere of inmost heaven where lucid worlds are
full of light.
"Make me immortal in that realm of eager wish and strong
desires,
The region of the radiant Moon,
where food and full delight are found......
"Make me immortal in that realm where happiness and
transports,
where joys and felicities combine,
and longing wishes are fulfilled.
flow, indu, flow for Indra's sake".

P. S. SASTRI

Maharana Udai Singh and the Sur Emperors of Delhi

Dr. D. C. Sircar attempted to make out the following points in *IHQ.*, Vol. XXX (March 1954) :—

1. That Maharana Udai Singh submitted to Sher Shah (p. 28);

2. that though all the Persian chroniclers are silent about it (pp. 25-26), the inscription from Toda Raisingh '*suggests*' it (p. 27); and

3. that the conquest of Toda Raisingh by Udaisingh is '*an interesting discovery*' (p. 30).

But it should be borne in mind that

(a) Dr. Sircar admits that all the available authorities simply prove the fact of surrender of the fort of Chittor, and are silent about the submission of the Rana to Sher Shah (p. 25);

(b) the much-relied-upon inscription of Toda Raisingh is not quoted by him in full (pp. 27-28); and

(c) the possibility of Islam Shah's having been vanquished by Udai Singh is ruled out by Dr. Sircar himself (p. 28), though it may as well mean this, if his logic is applied the other way.

So the contention of Dr. Sircar about the submission of Udai Singh is neither corroborated nor invulnerable. Hence the problem of Udai—Sur relationship remains unsolved. For a proper appreciation of Udai Singh's position, policy, and strategy at the time of the invasion of Sher Shah, we should

1. trace the history of Mewar from Kanwah to this date in the light of Persian texts and vernacular MSS and

2. study the Toda Raisingh inscription carefully.

* * * *

The defeat of the Rajput-Afgan coalition in the Battle of Kanwah (1527 A.D.) was among other reasons due to the inflexibility of the character of the Rajputs and their out-of-date strategy. It was as much due to the incapacity of Sanga to take advantage of the nation-wide anti-Mughal sentiments and of Babar's difficulties[1] as to the superior strategy of Babar, which consisted of wheeling movements of the flanks, the active use of reserves, and the profuse use of artillery[2]—against the compact Rajput cavalry formations[3]. Scholars believe that the defeat of Kanwah broke the Rajput confederacy[4]. But it is not so. Even after Kanwah, Saṅga chased Babar from Chanderi to Kalpi, where Saṅga was poisoned[5]. He died at Mandalgarh [*Amarkāvya* leaf 31 (b)]. The reason of this treasonable deed was obviously the opposition of his ministers to his plan of converting the Saṅga-Babar conflict from a single-battle issue into a multi-battle affair[6]. The very fact of Saṅga's advance to Kalpi, east of Kanwah, and not to south-west towards his capital, Chittor, is an ample testimony, not only of Saṅga's strength but also of the existence of the Rajput confederacy then. Not the defeat of Kanwah but the death of Saṅga broke the latter.

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[1] For the difficulties of Babar on the eve of Kanwah see *Memoirs of Babar* (Beveridge Tr.), II. 536, 547-50; Gulbadan Begam: *Humayunnama* (Beveridge Tr.), pp. 98-99; Abul Fazl: *Akbar-nama* (Beveridge Tr.) pp. 251-260.

[2] *Memoirs of Babar*, II. 568-572; *Akbar-nama*, I. 260-265; Farishta (Brigg's Tr.) II. 56-57; Erskine: *History of India* under the First Two Emperors of the House of Timur, I, 472; For the chart of the battle-field see Prof. Rushbrook William's *An Empire-builder of the Sixteenth Century*, p. 150.

[3] Dr. A. C. Banerjee: *Rajput Studies*, p. 95; Tod: *Annals and Antiquities of Rājasthan* (Popular Edition, 1914), I. 181.

[4] Prof. Rushbrook William, *op. cit.*, 156; Stanley Lane Poole: *The Emperor Babur* (Rulers of India Series), p. 181.

[5] *Amar-kāvya* (MSS. 1493 Sanskrit, Saraswati Bhavan, Udaipur), leaf 31 (b): *Vaṁśāvali* (MSS. 828 Hindi; S.B., Udai.), leaves 60 (b) 61 (a); *Vaṁśāvali* (MSS. 872 H., S. B. Udai.,), leaf 127; *Vaṁśāvali* (MSS. 878 H., S. B. Udai.,), leaf 64 (b). Rajavali (MSS in Hindi in possession of Ashiya Savaldanji, Udaipur) says that after an engagement at Kalpi between Saṅga and Babar poison was administered to Saṅga. [*Raval Rana ki Vat* (MSS 876 Hindi, S. B. Udai,), leaf 81 (a) says that it was administered by Pawar Karamchand and Ratansi. This Ratansi *may* be Prince Ratan Singh who was acting as regent on behalf of Saṅga since the latter's defeat at Kanwah when he gave up wearing the marks of royalty [see *Vaṁśāvali* (MSS. 878)., leaf 64 (b)].

[6] All the Khyats unanimously allege that the murder of Saṅga was the result of the exasperation of the nobles at Saṅga's insistence on pursuing beyond Kalpi (See *Vaṁśāvali* (828), leaf 60 (b); *Vaṁśāvali* (876), leaf 65 (a); *Vaṁśāvali* (872), leaf 127; Rajavali (without pagination). This is the other way of saying the same thing that they were opposed to Saṅga's attempt to turn the one-battle-war into multi-battle-war.

Saṅga, during his life-time had assigned the Jagir of Ranthambhor[7] to Vikramajit, and *probably* Kumbhalner, with its adjoining hilly region, to Udai Singh[8]. If so, Ratan succeeded to an area which comprised of Ajmer in the north, Hadoti in the east, Girava in the west and Mandasaur in the south. It was practically half of the area of the kingdom of Mewar.

Rana Ratan Singh was a capable ruler[9]. He allied himself with Sultan Bahadur Shah of Gujarat[10] in suppressing the since-Kanwahdefiant ruler of Malwa.[11] A slice of Malwa was the reward[12]. His zeal without tact alienated some nobles who joined Bahadur Shah[13]. His murder at Virudani in Bundi in 1588 V.S.[14] brought Vikramajit of Ranthambhor to the throne. This united the two semi-independent wings of Mewar into one. Vikramajit's childishness and evil habits alienated several nobles[15]. It gave Bahadur Shah a chance.

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[7] *Memoirs of Babar*, II. 612. In the light of a copper-plate dated 1588 V. S. Asadha Sudi 7 (Mahakama Khas Register No. 460/1588) it appears that Vikramajit was exercising sovereign powers from Ranthambhor in the reign of Ratan Singh. The legend that jagir worth Rs. 60 lakhs was assigned to Vikramajit by Saṅga along with the fort of Ranthambhor is *indirectly* corroborated by the fact that Karmeti demanded a jagir worth 70 lakhs rupees in lieu of her surrendering Ranthambhor and its dependencies to Babar (*Memoirs of Babar*, II. 612).

[8] Pt. Nathulal Vyas in his Mahārānā Pratap (Incomplete MSS in Pratap Sabha, Udaipur) says that Kumbhalner and the adjoining hilly region was assigned to Udai Singh by Saṅga. There is no reliable evidence to confirm or deny this assertion.

[9] Dr. Gopinath Sharma [Mewar and the Mughal Emperors (Agra 1954), p. 46] unjustly describes Ratan Singh as 'an anaemic figure' and further goes to ridicule him as 'a sad caricature of full-blooded personality like Saṅga' (p.47). He cites his adamance in not closing the doors of the fort of Chittor as evidence in support of these charges. But this proves at best his desperate valour, impetuous nature, and, say, his turbulent emotionalism. But how can this be described as 'anaemic'?. Tod (*op. cit.*, I. 246) agrees with the view that Ratan Singh was a capable monarch. Kaviraja Shyamaldas also supports it (*Saṁkṣipta Mewar Kā Itihās*, MSS. No. 921 H., S. B. Udai.), leaves 146 (b) 147 (a).

[10] *Mirat-i Sikandari*, (Bailey Tr.), pp. 348-353.

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[11] The reasons for the hostility of Mahmud Khilji of Malwa with Rana Ratan Singh were : —

(a) the offence given by Ratan Singh in capturing the fort of Gangrun (Farishta, IV. 123);

(b) His attempt to recover the territories lost by him to Saṅga

(c) His anger at Ratan Singh's help to Silhadi whom he wanted to suppress ; and

(d) His dislike of the arrogance of Ratan Singh. (Brigg's Farishta, IV. 263-5)

[12] Farishta (Brigg's : IV. 115). It appears that the districts left with Silhadi fell into Mewar's sphere of influence. Silhadi further augmented it by conquering Ujjain (p. 117). Bahadur Shah, who was already smarting at the gain fallen to the lot of Silhadi and Ratan Singh, was greatly incensed at this attempt to increase the area of Mewar's protectorate by conquering Ujjain. So he clashed with Silhadi, and Ratan Singh was also dragged into it (p. 118).

[13] *Mirat-i Sikandari*, p. 344, says that Nar Singhdeo, nephew of Raja of Gwalior, and Prithviraj, nephew of Rana Saṅga joined Bahadur Shah in 1529 A.D. Farishta (IV. 110) says that it happened in 1528 A.D. Secondly, he calles the nephew of Saṅga by the name of Sripatrai.

[14] *Vaṃśa-bhāskar*, Mayukha 183 Verse 63. This date can be disputed.

[15] *Raval Rana ki Vat* (MSS 876 H., S. B. Udai.), leaves 62 (b) 63 (a). He took delight in sharing the company of riff-raff and wrestlers, *ibid.*, 83 (a). But the picture of Vikramajit as drawn by *Vaṁśa-bhāskar* (184. 2-5) is definitely imaginary and false. In their desperation the nobles allied with the Minas, a ferocious tribe of Rajasthan, and spread anarchy in Mewar (cf. lifting of cattle by Minas with the connivance of the nobles from the plain of Chittor: [*Raval Rana ki Vat*, leaves 82 (b) 83 (a)]. But we have no evidence to support the contention of Kaviraja Shyamaldas (*Virvinod*, II. 38), MM, Oza [(*Udaipur Rajya kā Itihās*, (I. 397)]. Oza (*Pratapgarh Rajya kā Itihās* pp. 76-77) and Dr. Gopinath (*op. cit.*, p. 49) state that the offended nobles joined Bahadur Shah in the days of Vikramajit. Narsinghdeo and Prithviraj (Sripatrai of Farishta) were already with Bahadur since the days of Ratan Singh. This did not happen in the days of Vikramajit as these scholars believe.

This, along with Mewar's interference on behalf of Silhadi;[16] and the impending Humayun-Bahadur conflict[17] brought twice the guns of Gujarat to the doors of Chittor. Vikramajit appealed to Humayun for help (Farishta: Brigg's Tr. ii. 74) through Dungar Singh, a natural son of Saṅga [Vaṁśāvali No. 828 MSS. leaf 64 (a)][18]. But it was in vain. The second Sākā of Chittor (1535 A. D.) cost 1000-1300 ladies and 13000 soldiers[19]. In all, Mewar lost, along

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[16] *Mirat-i Sikandari*, pp. 360-70; Farishta, IV. 118-121; *Tabkat-i Akbari* by Khwaja Ahmad (Tr. De), vol. III, pp. 858-62.

[17] *Mirat-i Sikandari*, pp. 374-381; Farishta, IV. 124-5; II. 73; *Tabkat-i Akbari*, III. 371-2.

[18] This event is magnified and falsified as sending of Rakhi (Dr. Gopinath *op. cit.*, 50). Dr. Gopinath cites *Raval Rana ki Vat* (MSS, leaf 81 (a), *Vaṃśāvali Ranaji Ri* (leaf 63 (b), and *Mewar kā Saṁkṣipta Itihās* (leaves 151 (a-b) 152 (a) in his supports. *Raval Rana ki Vat* on leaf 81 says that in 1580 V.S., just after the death of Saṅga Karmeti sent bracelet from Bundi, where she had retired to deliver Udai Singh who was in womb at the time of Saṅga's death. Here the year of the death of Saṅga as well as that of birth of Udai Singh, and the place of sending of bracelet are given in a manner which do not help the thesis of sending of bracelet by Karmeti at the time of Bahadur's siege of Chittor. The account of *Raval Rana ki Vat* is a mistaken version of negotiations started by Karmeti with Babar soon after the demise of Saṅga through Asuka (Memoir of Babar, II. 612). In this connection it is of great interest to note that the year of sending of bracelet and the year of the death of Saṅga are told to be the same. Babar also says that negotiations between him and Karmeti started very soon after the death of Saṅga. Kaviraja Shyamaldas, the co-author of *Mewar Ka Saṃkṣipta Itihās* (MSS) in *Vir Vinod* (ii. 5-7) says that Rakhi was sent by Karmeti during the life-time of Babar; and at the time of the siege of Chittor Karmeti solicited help from Humayun on that ground (p. 7). The position of Vaṁśāvali Ranajit Ri is also not in any way better in this respect. In another context *Raval Rana Ki Vat* (leaf 87 (b) says that after the fall of Chittor, Rawat Surtan of Bundi solicited help from Humayun. But by that time Karmeti had already immolated herself in the Jauhar of 1535 A.D.

[19] *Rawal Rana Ki Vat* (leaf 86 (b). *Vir Vinod* puts the figures at 32,000 soldiers and 13,000 ladies (ii. 31). This estimate is fantastic. Kavi Raoji, a contemporary, puts the loss at 10,000 strong (verse 20).

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with Chittor, the districts of Malwa[20], Ranthambhor[21] and Ajmer[22] to Bahadur Shah in his two raids.

Chittor remained in the hands of the Gujarati Governor, Malik Burhaunul Mulk by name, for a short time[23]. Taking advantage of the successive victories of Humayun over Bahadur Shah, with 5-7000 strong[24], the Sisodias recaptured the fort on Jaiṣṭa Sukla 2, 1592 V.S.[25] i.e., Tuesday, May 4, 1535 A.D. Vikramajit returned from Bundi, his resort since the second siege of Chittor by Bahadur Shah, and continued in his ill-treatment of the nobility. Vikramajit gave a punch on the nose of Karamacanda Pawar[26] and released foul water on the person of Rawat Khan[27]. This broke the camel's back. The offended aristocracy colluded with Banavīr[28]. He was persuaded to assassinate the incorrigible Rana[29].

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[20] *Mirat-i Sikandari*, p. 372: term of the treaty at the time of first siege of Chittor by Bahadur Shah.

[21] *Ibid.*, pp. 372-3: conquered by Burhanul Mulk and Mujahid Khan after the time of first siege of Bahadur Shah.

[22] *Ibid.*, pp. 372-3: captured by Shamshir ul Mulk after the first siege of Bahadur Shah.

[23] *Ibid.*, p. 393. In this year Gujrati governor is found in Chittor.

[24] *Muhnot Nensi Ki Khyat* (Ram Narayan Diggad's Tr.), p. 55; MSS of this Khyat in Saraswati Bhavan, Udaipur, further gives the number of soldiers employed in its recapture [leaf 199 (b) of Gujrat section].

[25] Hur Patra: in the collection of Pandit Nathulalji Vyas. (Hur Patras are isolated papers containing information of every type written without any sense of chronological sequence. The importance of these papers is not so far properly appreciated by the scholars, and as such this great source of information and collaboration remains completely untapped. If the scholars do not awake to the sense of their historical importance, thousands of these papers will be lost. With all their chronological and historical value they suffer from one drawback: their own time and their author cannot be ascertained).

Mirat-i Sikandari also indirectly supports this date. It says that when Humayun was besieging the fort of Champanair, Malik Amin Nas (who held Ranthambhor), Burhanul Mulk (who held Chittor) and Malik Shamshir-ul Mulk (who held Ajmer) collected 20,000 horse and wrote to Bahadur for permission to attack Pattan. Humayun captured Champanair on 20th July, 1535 A.D. (*Akbar Nāmā* I. 312). Then he returned to Agra and these officers attacked Pattan. Thus Burhan-ul Mulk might have left Chittor before the fall of Champanair, i.e., before July 1535. As the siege of Champanair lasted for a couple of months, May 1535 appears to be the probable period of the Sisodia re-occupation of Chittor.

[26] *Rawal Rana Ki Vat*, leaf 80 (b)

[27] *Ibid.*, leaves 88 (b) 89 (a)

Banavīr was the natural son of Pr. Prithviraj, the elder brother of Saṅga, by Putal De[30]. He became, after murdering Vikramajit, the ruler of Mewar in V.S. 1593[31]. Panna saved Udai Singh by heroically sacrificing her own son. Some say that he was already holding his court at Kumbhalner then[32]. But all the Khyats unanimously uphold the Panna episode[33].

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[28] *Ibid.*, leaf 89 (a); *Mewar Ka Saṃkṣipta Itihās* (written in the days of Maharana Sambhu Singh by Kaviraja Shyamaldas and Purohit Ramnath Sanaddhya, MSS No. 921 H. in Saraswati Bhavan, Udaipur) leaf 154 (b) says that Banavīr was called from Bagad by the nobles for assassinating Vikramajit. But this view is not supported by any known authority. On the other hand Rajavali (without pagination) says that Banavīr was already serving Vikramajit at the time of the latter's murder. *Rāval Rana Ki Khyat* (leaf 89 (b), *Udaipur ke Rajaun ki Pidhiyaun ki Khyat* (MSS in Rajasthan Vidhyā Piṭha, Udaipur) leaf 16 (b), and all the other Khyats support this view.

[29] *Rawal Rana ki Vat* (leaf 89 (b) says that Banavīr declined to assassinate the Rana pleading his illegitimate birth as his excuse:

"बणवीर कह्यो हूँ खवासण रो हूँ"

But Karamchand Pawar persisted and said

"मैं करागां ज्यो सरे हुवेगा"

Then Banavīr agreed. *Mewar ka Saṃkṣipta Itihās* (leaf 154 (b) says that the nobles commissioned Banavīr to murder Vikramjit by promising him regency, during the minority of Udai Singh; but Banavīr went back on his word. This is incorrect. Rajavali clearly says:—

"पृथ्वीराजजी री खवासण रो बेटो बणवीर जणी उदेशींघजी रा बड़ा भाइ वीकमजीतजो राज करता जणा उपर चूक कीको। उमराव सारा थेला। कोठारे रावत खांदलजी भेला न्हीं।"

Similarly, *Udaipur ke Ranaun ki Pidhiyaun ki Khyat* says:

"सरदार सारा मलेर कुवर पृथ्वीराजरी कुवास रा बेटा बणवीर ने कह्यो सो तूँ द्रबार उप्र चुक करे तो थाने गादी बेठावां".

Rawal Rana ki Khyat also agrees with this view. *Muhnot Nensi* does not give any detail of the plot (p. 54). A poetic composition, written by Kavi Raoji, a contemporary writer says:

"चहुवान पौंवार बदलि के, हनो विक्रम बनवीर बली"

[30] *Muhnot Nensi*, p. 54

[31] Kaviraja Surajmal: *Vaṁśabhāskar op. cit.*, p. 2201, Devi Prashad: *Khavasbal Banavir*, p. 81

Banavīr was a brave[34], great[35], and a magnificent[36] ruler. He was a skilful administrator[37] too. He efficiently organized the armies of Mewar[38]. Mewar gained much during his reign[39]. But his ille gitimate birth brought about his fall. His attempt to exercise the kingly prerogative of sharing the dishes of his platter with the nobles led to the desertion of Rawat Khan with several others including those who were in the establishment of Vikramajit, to Udai Singh at Kumbhalner[40].

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[32] *Vaṁśabhāskar* says that at the time of murder of Bikramajit, Udai Singh was already holding his court at Kumbhalner (p. 2201). Ramnarayan Duggad (*Mewar ka Itihas*, p. 109) accepts this view. But had it been so, Banavīr would have immediately declared war on Udai Singh. Udai Singh would not have been left unmolested for seven years as all the Khyats unanimously assert. What appears more probable is that Vikramajit granted jagir of Kumbhalner to Udai Singh which was managed by Asha Deopura for Udai Singh, and the latter remained at Chittor. This view also explains the seven years' period of concealment of Udai Singh because it is counted from the date of conferment of this jagir. This might have happened about two years before the murder of Vikramajit. So five years of the reign of Banavir and two years of previous enjoyment of this jagir make in all seven years which are told to be the period of Udai Singh's remaining silent (*Chhānē* in Mewari) wrongly understood to be the period of disguise.

[33] *Raval Rana ki Khyat*, leaf 90 (a); *Udaipur ke Rajaun ki Pidhiyaun ki Khyat*, leaf 16 (b); Rajavali tells that Udai Singh was smuggled out of the fort through Lakhota ki Bari. Kavi Raoji says:

छलबल करे उदल काढ्यो, भेदपार दर्लस थकी ॥२५॥
धरी छवरां पतरा, दीनो कोट निकार
पुढि अहीरी लग्गी के, लीनो नन्दी पार
....॥२६॥

[34] *Vaṁśabhāskar says*

मिच्छ नव वानें के विह.ते सुनें फोज फारि ॥१७।१४

And again, Kávi Raoji says:

गांजि वीर वनवीर, मीर मोरखां सजीय
......................................॥३७॥

[35] Tod, op. cit., p. 254

[36] Charan Ramnath: *Itihās Rajasthan*, p. 46; Tod, *op. cit.*, p. 254

[37] *Udaipur Ke Ranaun ki Pidhiyaun ki Khyat*, leaf 19 (b)

[38] Dr. Gopinath remarks that "the army (of Banavīr, R.C.) was demoralized by indolence and want of patronage" (*op. cit.*, p. 60). This assertion appears to be confounded in the light of the fact that the fort of Chittor was captured by Udai Singh *not by the force of arms* but *through bribe*, as we shall see later on.

[39] *Udaipur Ke Rajaun ki Pidhiyaun ki Khyat*, leaf 19 (b)

These nobles publicly enthroned Udai Singh at Kumbhalner, with great pomp and ceremony[41]. And soon after, with the aid of his fathers-in-law Rathor Kumpa and Sonagara Akheraj[42], and with Asuji Deopure, Rawat Khan[43] etc., Udai Singh marched on Chittor in 1597[44]. His 20,000 strong met Banavīr's 10,000 under Tumbar Kovar Singh at Maholi and defeated them[45]. Next they killed Malla at Tana[46], after a brief siege of one month[47]. At Chittor the siege continued for about two months without any result[48]. Then the garrison was bribed[49]. Several nobles were enticed to desert Banavīr through promise of liberal rewards[50], which swelled Udai Singh's numbers to 30-40,000 strong[51]. Chil Mehta[52], also called Mehta Suman[53], was persuaded to betray the fort[54]. Banavīr fled or was permitted to retire through Lakhota Ki Bari[55].

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[40] *Ibid.*, 18 (a); But *Rawal Rana ki Vat* does not mention this event as the reason of Rawat Khan's joining Udai Singh. It says that Asuji Deopura invited him (leaf 95 (a). Similarly, Rajavali says that while returning from visit to the temple of Charbhuja Ravat Khan visited Asuji and learnt about the concealment of Udai Singh at Kumbhalner. *Vaṁśabhāskar* gives the credit of organizing anti-Banavir march to one Dadhicha Brahmin Khema by name (Mayukha 184, Verses 23-27).

[41] *Vaṁśāvali* No. 867 leaf 21 (a); *Raval Rana ki Vat,* leaf 96 (b); Rajavali simply says "मेवाड़ का सरदार ऊमराय हा सो रावत खांदलजी साह सु मारा पगे लागा"

[42] *Rathoran Ki Khyat* (MSS 894 Hindi, Saraswati Bhavan, Udaipur) leaf 40 (a)

[43] *Raval Rana ki Vat,* leaf 95 (b) 96 (a); *Udaipar ke Ranaun ki Pidhiyaun ki Khyat,* leaf 19 (a)

[44] *Amar kavya* (MSS 1493), leaf 33 (a) Kavi Raoji says:—

[45] मिलि मारू मेवाड़, वीस हजार वहादर
माहोली वरीयांम, राम चालक वीरवर
तोवर कोवरसिंह, सहेस दस सजें बिकट
..................................॥३४॥

Munshi Devi Prashad (*Khavasbal Banavir,* p.84) is wrong in holding that Udai Singh had 140,000 men with him. In fact, he had only 20,000 strong. Banavir had sent 10,001 men against him. Rajavali says that Banavir despatched 10,000,1 strong against Udai Singh. This is wrong. Here is a mistake in taking down the figures from old Mewari figures. In old Mewari ten thousand and one used to be written as 10,000,1 which in modern light will mean one lakh and one. *Vaṁśāvali* (832 Leaf 136), *Vaṁśāvali* (826 leaf 64 (a) and Rajavali, Muhnot Nensi (p. 56) hold that Banavir himself was present in the Battle of Maholi.

Soon after regaining the fort of Chittor, Udai Sing busied himself in re-establishing his authority over the recently lost territories of Mewar. Sirohi was first brought under control[56]. But soon Mewar was confronted with a great national crisis. It was the invasion of Sher Shah. Soon after defeating the forces of Maldeo near Merta (in March 1544 A. D.) Sher Shah marched against Chittor[57]. But

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Raval Rana ki Vat (leaf 98) (b) disagrees with it. Kavi Rao, a contemporary authority also supports the view of *Raval Rana ki Vat*. Kovar Singh lost the field. Kavi Raoji says:

> चालक पग नहीं चल्यो, झीक खगधार छिना छिन
> तोवर कटि धर मिल्यो, मिल्ये दल गीर जिन
> जुरें मैं कै भिरे, फरि नह सत अमतह
> फते पाय उदैंसाह, जीती ऊभावर विजद्द ॥३५॥

[46] *Raval Rana ki Vat*, leaf 99 (a); *Udaipur ke Ranaun ki Pidhiyani ki Khyat*, leaf 19 (a); *Vaṁśāvali* (878), leaf 70 (a)

[47] *Raval Rana Ki Vat*, leaves 98 (b) 99 (a)

[48] *Udaipur ke Ranaun Ki Pidhiyaun ki Khyat*, leaf 19 (a)

[49] *Vaṃśa-bhāskar* p. 2202; *Udaipur ke Ranaun Ki Pidhiyaun Ki Khayat*, leaf 19 (b) alleges treachery but not bribery.

[50] *Vaṁśāvali* (867), leaf 22 (a)

[51] *Raval Rana Ki Vat*, leaf 99 (a)

[52] *Udaipur ke Ranaun ki Pidhiyaun ki Khyat*, leaf 19 (b)

[53] *Raval Rana ki Vat*, leaf 99 (a)

[54] *Udaipur ke Ranaun ki Pidhiyaun ki Khyat*, leaf 19 (b); *Raval Rana ki Vat*, leaf 99 (a)

[55] *Udaipur ke Ranaun ki Pidhiyaun ki Khyat*, leaf (100 (a); *Vaṁśāvali* (828), leaf 64 (b); *Vaṁśāvali* (872), leaf 137; *Vaṁśāvali* (878), leaf 70 (b). But *Vaṁśabhāskar* says that whether he fled away or was killed cannot be satisfactorily determined (Mayukh 184 Verse 27)

[56] Kaviraja Shyamaldas, *op. cit.*, II. 65

[57] Elliot (*Tarikh-i Sher Shahi*), vol. IV, p. 466

according to Elliot[58], Sher Shah came to Chittor from Agra *via* Ajmer several months after this battle.

For Udai Singh the situation was very difficult. Between the Battle of Kanwah (1527 A.D.) and 1544 A.D.), for about seventeen years, Mewar had suffered terribly. She was bled white by the invasion of Bahadur Shah and the civil war. Secondly, Udai Singh was well-acquainted with the strength and weakness of the fort of Chittor. It is an ancient fort of pre-gun-powder days. Its defence potential was greatly reduced now. The two sieges of Bahadur Shah tragically revealed it. Moreover, it is perched on a mountain plinth surrounded by plains on three sides and by river Banas on the fourth. So it could be easily besieged. In such a case the only alternative before the beleagured garrison was either Jauhar or surrender. Chittor had always acted traitor to its masters. So it was no use defending it. Lastly, Udai Singh had as yet not consolidated his position. Whatever strength he might have amassed so far was not to be lightly thrown to winds. The attempt at opposition to Sher Shah in defence of Chittor would be just futile. It was like Don Quixote tilting sword at the wind-mill. So when Sher Shah was 24 miles from Chittor, the keys of the fort were surrendered to him[59]. Appreciating the wisdom of this step P. Kennedy says:—That it "saved the Raja and his people from the repetition of Bahadur Shah's invasion 10 years previous". (*History of the Great Moghuls*, p. 214).

But was Chittor surrendered without any fight? All the Muslim historians say 'yes'. But *Amarkāvya* mentions several engagements between Sher Shah and Udai Singh[60]. Reading both these views together *may* we say that between Ajmer and Chittor Sher Shah encountered several guerilla bands, but at Chittor no opposition was offered. Thus *Amarkāvya* speaks about the *flankal* not frontal activities of Udai Singh. Though these guerilla raids could not impede the progress of Sher Shah's march, he was made to see that if he ventured to conquer the whole Mewar, as he did in Marwar, he would have to face costly, protracted and trouble some hit-and-fly type of warfare in mountainous regions of Girwa. Secondly, probably Viramdeo of Merta and Kelyan Rao of Bikaner[61], or their Vakils, the friends as well as well-wishers of Udai Singh, were in the camp of Sher Shah. They might have expostulated with Sher Shah about the losses in Marwar, the approach of the rainy season, and the toughness and doughtiness of the Sisodias. So Sher Shah contented himself with the occupation of Chittor only. Handing over Chittor to Shams Khan, the brother of Khawas Khan, Sher Shah proceeded to Kachwara[62].

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[58] *Ibid* , IV. 406, footnote 2. Elliot cites *Tarikh-i Daudi* for support but observes that this is the only book which mentions Sher Shah's journey to Agra and Ajmer after the defeat of Maldeo.

[59] *Ibid.*, vol, IV, p. 406. Dr. Gopinath (*op. cit.*, pp. 61-62) holds that the keys of the fort of Chittor were surrendered to Sher Shah at Jahazpur, Jahazpur is about 70 miles from Chittor, and secondly, it does not fall on the road to Chittor from Ajmer. So it is very difficult to accept the view of Dr. Gopinath in the absence of any definite and reliable evidence against the definite information of *Tarikh-i Sher Shahi* which gives 24 miles as the distance of the place where Sher Shah received the keys. Dr. Gopinath's view is not acceptable for this reason also that there was no business for Sher Shah to go o Jahazpur.

Was this surrender of Chittor accompanied by submission of Udai Singh? Farishta[63], Abbas Sir Wani[64], speak about the surrender of the fort of Chittor only, but not by whom. But Abul Fazl[65] says that it was made over to Sher Shah by the commandant of the fort. *Amarkāvya* supports this by categorically affirming that Udai Singh continued to be independent[66]. *Amarkāvya's* statement that "नभ्रोनोदय सिंहाऽभूत तद्‌चलं हतत्रान" (leaf 32a) and that of Vaṁśāvalī No. 872 that Udai Singh defeated the Pathans, may refer not to the military defeat of Sher Shah but the frustration of his purpose of defeating Udai Singh and that of annexing the whole of Mewar[67].

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[60] *Amarkāvya* (MSS 1661) leaf 32 (a)

[61] Cf. MSS Maharana Pratap by Pandit Nathulalji Vyas. But Jaimal *Vaṁśa-Prakash* (Ajmer, 1989 V.S.) by Thakur Gopal Singh Rathor (p. 103) says that Sher Shah was not accompanied by these persons when we preceeded against Chittor. They had retired to their estates.

[62] Elliot: *Tarikh-i Sher Shahi*, vol. IV, p. 406; But MSS 112 Persian in Saraswati Bhavan, Udaipur) entitled *Tofa-i Akbar Shahi*, leaf 163, says that Sher Shah went from Chittor to Kahi.

[63] Farishta (Brigg's), II. 123. Dr. Gopinath presumes that the surrender of the fort of Chittor was made by Udai Singh. And he further adds, 'Sher Shah allowed the Rana to remain in possession (of the fort, R.C.) as a result of a treaty" (*op. cit.*, p. 62). But the treaty spoken of by Farishta is not that which Udai Singh and Sher Shah stipulated between themselves. It refers to the one which Sher Shah entered into with the commandant of the fort who surrendered it to Sher Shah [Abul Fazl: *Akbar Nāmā* (I. 401)].

[64] *Tarikh-i Sher Shahi*, Elliot: IV. 406.

[65] Abul Fazl: *Akbar Nāmā*, I. 401

Now let us see what the text of the inscription from Toda Rai Singh says. The following is its text in full:

सिधि ॥ श्रीगणेशायनमः ॥ पं ब्रह्म वेदान्त विदो वदंति परं प्रधानं पुरुषं तथान्ये । निश्वोद्गते (:×) कारणमीश्वरं वा तस्मै नमो विघ्नविनाशनाय ॥१॥ संवत १६०४ वर्षे ॥ शाके १४६८ मार्गसिर वदि २ दिने वद्धिनो पती ॥ प्रो० प्रान्हद (?) ॥ तस्य पुत्र प्रो० नराहण (?) ॥ तत्पुत्र प्रो० महेस ॥ प्रो० चक्रपाणि ॥ तस्य पुत्र चि० दासीदास ॥ चि० विष्णुदास ॥ राजाधिराज राज श्री सूर्य सेणि ॥ तस्य पुत्र राजश्री पृथ्वीराज ॥ तस्त पुत्र राजश्री राव रामचंद राज्ये वर्तमाने ॥ तस्य पुत्र कवंर च परसराम ॥ पातिसाहि सेर साह सूरि ॥ तस्य पुत्र पातिसाह असलभ साहि ॥ कौवारो वर्तमाने ॥ सर्वभूमिकोषसम षोडा लाष ११ कों षसमु राज भो संग्राम देव । तस्य पुत्र उदयसिंव देवराणों कुभलमेर राज्ये वर्तमाने ॥ कारागर लाला श्रोचंदरा सु (?) लिषितं जो रामदास कारागर सोवचंद तकाराम पादवी लायति...रनि जन चोवारि बडा हुति (?) टं १००१ सहस्र रक (?) अंके मेवाडौ नाणो ॥ टंक १०ऽट १ वाहुकै निमि (तं×) कागा । शुभं भवतु ॥ राम राम राम ॥ (Obtained by the courtesy of Dr. Satya Prakash Shrivastava, Chief Supdtt., Deptt. of Archaeology and Museums, Govt. of Rajasthan).

Here Sher Shah and Islam Shah are mentioned along with Sangramdeo and Udai Singh. Sher Shah is called 'Patishah' while Sangramdeo who is no other than the famous Rana Saṅga, is called "Sārvabhauma". Dr. Sircar's contention that Sher Shah and Islam Shah are called "Sārvabhauma" is unacceptable. Thus both the houses—viz., those of Surs and the Sisodias"—are shown existing side by side. And as such, it does not establish the fact of vassalage of Udai Singh to Islam Shah as Dr. Sircar infers[68]. This inscription on the other hand read along with the Persian accounts and the Sanskrit chronicles, totally disproves such a conclusion.

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[66] *Amar Kāvya* (MSS 1661) leaf 32 (a)

[67] Under similar circumstances, in 1567-8, though Chittor was lost to Akbar by the Sisodias, the native chroniclers could legitimately claim victory for Udai Singh (cf. Jagannath Temple Inscription, Verse 40)

[68] *IHQ.*, vol. XXX (March 1954) p. 28

Dr. Sircar thinks that the inscription for the first time brings to light the fact of the submission of Toda to Udai Singh (*op. cit.*, p. 30). But this is not so. *Amarkāvya* says that Udai Singh gave Toda to Ramacandra[69]. So either Ramacandra was a refugee in the court of Udai Singh, like Rama Shah of Gwalior, Jaimal of Merta etc., and Udai Singh conquered Toda from the Surs and gave it in Jagir to Ramacandra, to whose reign the inscription belongs; or, possibly instead of being a refugee in the court of Udai Singh, Ramacandra might have been a Sur vassal and Udai Singh liberated him from the Muslim yoke. The latter explanation also clarifies the point involved in the simultaneous recording of two sovereign houses in the inscription.

Now a question arises: when was Chittor reconquered by the Sisodias? Two clues can help us: (1) It was in the reign of Islam Shah, and (2) it was before the death of Khawas Khan. Khawas Khan was left in charge of Marwar[70] in the first half of 1544 A. D. (Sher Shah by Kaliniranjan Qanungo, pp. 329-31). Maldeo recovered it about the end of Śrāvan V.S. 1602 i.e. 528 days after its fall into the Afgan hands[71], i.e. about two months after the death of Sher Shah. During this time either Khawas Khan was driven away by Maldeo, who later on espoused the cause of Adil Khan, brother of Islam Shah, and after defeating the imperial armies at Fathpur fled to Kumaon hills [Tarikh-i Daudi: Elliot, iv. 494; At Badaoni (Ranking Tr.) I. 487]. This might have taken about 6 months to occur. During this period Maldeo appears to have recovered everything except Ajmer. The rebellion of Khawas Khan took place most probably within a year of the death of Sher Shah[72]. Probably, Shams Khan left Chittor in the hands of the Rajputs about this time under the increasing pressure of the Sisodias, and not without bloodshed[73]. This might have happened in 1549 A. D., i.e., either in the end of 1603 or beginning of 1604 V. S. Then Toda was conquered or liberated by Udai Singh. The inscription belongs to the year 1604 V.S. The words of Islam Shah to Khawas Khan that the Sisodias were again raising their head suggests not that the efforts of the Sisodias occurred in the reign of Islam Shah. They *might* have been doing their humble best since the days of Sher Shah. It is for this reason that Badaoni does not mention the occupation of Chittor by Sher Shah; because there was nothing to be proud of in it.

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[69] *Amarkāvya* (MSS 1661), leaf 32

[70] *Tarikh-i Sher Shahi*, Elliot: IV. 127 (Susil Gupta Edl.)

[71] *Rathoran Ki Khyat* (MSS), leaf 44 (b)

[72] Elliot, vol. IV, Appendix, E, p. 530

[73] *Amarkāvya* (MSS 1661) leaf 32

But one thing should be noted: Dr. Sircar has done an appreciable service by clearing a great chronological uncertainty. It was so far impossible to ascertain the year of the conquest of Toda Raisingh by Udai Singh. *Amarkāvya* does not mention its date because it is mentioned among the gifts of Udai Singh. The event which precedes this catalogue of gifts is the successful engagement of Udai Singh with the Sultan of Gujarat in V. S. 1606[74]. So naturally it could be presumed that either in the same year or very near to it this conquest of Toda would have taken place. This Toda Raisingh inscription, which Dr. Sircar has brought to the notice of the scholars, establishes the fact of Toda being under Udai Singh in 1604 V.S. So naturally either in the same year or in the preceding years this might have occurred. Any way it could not have happened before 1602 V.C., when Sher Shah was alive. I fix Vaiśākha Sudhi 14, 1603 V.S. for it. Whatever be the year of death of Khawas Khan, these dates of the re-conquest of Chittor and conquest of Toda by Udai Singh will stand. Had it been so that after the death of Khawas Khan Chittor was liberated, then these dates could be disputed. But it is not so.

It is presumed here that the reconquest of Chittor preceded the Toda episode. But this can be explained. It was dangerous to attempt the conquest of Toda by the forces emerging out of Girwa region with powerful Afghan forces stationed at Chittor in the rear. So conquest of Chittor may be presumed to have come first; Toda event followed it. Because now the road to Toda was safe. (N. B. All the dates from the dates of Saṅga to the reconquest of Chittor by Udai Singh by expelling Banavīr are tentative. So far no definiteness is obtained about them. Scholars disagree among themselves about these; and the dates fixed by them are as much open to dispute as those which they assail as unwarranted.)

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[74] *Ibid*, (MSS 1661), leaf 32

[75] *Udaipur Ke Ranaun Ki Pidhiyaun Ki Khyat* (leaf 21 (a) says that the duration of the reign of Udai Singh was 25 yrs. 10 months and 1 day. Udai Singh died on Phalgun Sudi 15, 1628 V. S. [*Amarkāvya* (MSS 1493 S., leaf 40 (b)]. Collection of Late Motilalji Shrotriya; *Vaṁśāvalī* (MSS 878 H, leaves 70 (b) 71 (a). By going back 25.10.1 from Phalgun Sudi 15,1628 we get Vaiśākha Sudi 14,1603, the date of Udai Singh's occupation of Chittor by expelling the Agfans. It would be 1603 V.S. according to the old Rajasthani calender because the new year in old days used to begin, according to some, on Śrāvan Sudi 15; and on Kartika Sudi 15, accordingo to Mahajans.

ARYA RAMCHANDRA G. TIWARI

Bengal's Contribution to Mahāyāna Literature

A vast body of Buddhist literature grew up in Bengal from the seventh to the twelfth century round Vajrayāna, Kālacakrayāna and Sahajayāna, collectively passing by the general and loose appellation, Tantricism, and the numerous works that are found in translation in the Tibetan *Tan-jur*, prepared by Lama Bu-ston in the thirteenth century, constitute no more than a part of the body that had actually grown up. This is, however, no reason to suppose that the Buddhists of Bengal pledged themselves to the cultivation of this aspect of faith and this aspect alone. It is now high time to say that of works on purely Mahāyāna and Vijñānavāda systems there was no dearth, although the number produced was comparatively small and that preserved either in original or in translation is smaller still.

Early in the seventh century A.D., if not earlier, flourished Śāntideva, whose *Bodhicaryāvatāra*[1] is, in ten chapters, a compendium of Mahāyāna teachings, glorifying the *Bodhisattva*, and supplicating the *Bodhisattvas* to become servants of all and work for all. The fervid devotion with which its verses are permeated makes it liable to be aptly compared with the *Imitatio Christ*[2], and it was commented upon by Prajñākaramati in 1078 A.D.[3] in Nepal and during the reign of Śaṅkaradeva. Besides the *Bodhicaryāvatāra*, Śāntideva wrote two other works, *Śikṣāsamuccaya* and *Sūtrasamuccaya*, of which the former sets forth the ideal of Bodhisattva as one of real beauty, but mainly drawing upon older texts. Although proposed by more than one scholar, it has not, however, been conclusively proved that Śāntideva was a Bengal born, but two more commentaries on his *Bodhicaryāvatāra* are known to exist in Tibetan translation, one by the great Atiśa Dīpaṅkara,[4] indubiously a Bengali, and the other by Vibhūticandra[5] of the Jagaddal *mahāvihāra* of North Bengal, whom also it is very difficult to deny a Bengal origin.

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[1] Published by the Buddhist Text Society, Calcutta, and in Bib. Ind. Series. Also other editions. A synopsis of the work appears in R. L. Mitra's *Nepalese Buddhist Literature*, Cal., 1882, pp.47-48, and in Bengali in the *Bhārati*, 1306 B.S., pp. 710-721.

[2] Keith, *Buddhist Philosophy in India and Ceylon*, p. 232.

[3] Published along with the text in the Bib. Ind. Series.

[4] Cordier's *Catalogue du Fonds Tibétain de la Bibliothèque Nationale*, 1915, III, p. 498.

As to Śāntarakṣita's nativity, however, no such incertitude prevails. In the Tibetan *Pag-Sam-Jon-Zang*, he figures as a scion of the royal family of Zahor or Sahore,[6] which, in the present state of our knowledge, can best be identified as a tract somewhere in Bengal,[7] while in another account he is distinctly said to have been a native of Gauḍa (West Bengal).[8] According to Tāranātha, the Tibetan Chronicler (1608 A.D.), King Dharmapāla of Bengal who dates from *circa* 760-815 A.D., was a contemporary of the Tibetan king Khri Srong bde btsan, whom the *Chronicles of Ladakh* places in 755-797 A.D.[9] And on invitation from the latter, Śāntarakṣita went over to Tibet to reform the religion of the country that was there. He composed the *Madhyamakālaṅkāra-kārikā*,[10] and himself wrote a commentary on it. His another work, *Satyadvaya-vibhaṅga-pañjikā*,[11] also looks to be as Mahāyāna work.

Under the patronage, and probably the orders also, of Dharmapāla, Haribhadra of the Traikūṭaka *Vihāra* wrote his *Abhisamayālaṅkārāvaloka*, which is a well known commentary[12] on the *Aṣṭasāhasrikā-Prajñāpāramitā*, embodying the ideas of both Nāgārjuna and Maitreyanātha with a view to put a stop to the contention raging between the Madhyamaka and Yogācāra schools of Buddhism. A copy of this commentary was recovered from Nepal. It was translated into Tibetan, and the translation was executed by the order of the Tibetan monarch Khri-bkra-sis-hod-lde btsan (958-1055 A.D.?).[13] Besides this commentary, Haribhadra is credited with the authorship of several other works, a list of

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5 *Ibid*, p. 310.

6 Index, p. xcix.

7 *IHQ*., 1935, pp. 142-44.

8 *JBTS*., 1, 1893, p.1.f.

9 *Antiquities of Indian Tibet*, A. H. Francke, II, p. 86.

10 Cordier, *op. cit*., p. 311.

11 *Ibid*., p. 310.

12 *Ibid*., pp. 276-77; cf. also *Mem. As. Soc. Beng*., III, *Intro*. p. 5; *JBORS*, V, Pt. II, pp. 176-77.

13 Cordier, *op. cit*., pp. 276-77.

which occurs in his account as given by Bu-ston in his *History of Buddhism*. They include, among others the commentary entitled *Sphuṭārthā*, the *Prajñāpāramitābhāvanā* and a compendium, in eight chapters, of the *Pañcaviṁśati-sāhasrikā*.[14]

Haribhadra had a disciple in Buddha-Śrī-Jñāna, alias Buddha-Jñāna-pāda, who has been called in his *Sañcaya-gāthā-pañjikā* his principal disciple.[15] According to Tibetan tradition, Buddha-Śrī-Jñāna was the Chancellor of the Vikramaśīla monastery at the time of Dharmapāla. Besides his *Sañcaya-gāthā-pañjikā* he also wrote a commentary on the *Abhisamayālaṁkāra* (Vijñānavāda) entitled *Prajñā-pradīpavalī*.[16] His another product was *Mahāyāna-lakṣmaṇa-samuccaya*[17], in which he is clearly stated to have been of Uḍḍiyāna and this Uḍḍiyāna, as already proposed, must be somewhere in Bengal rather than the Uḍḍiyāna or Udyāna of the N.W. Frontier or Swat Valley.[18]

Lui-pāda, who was according to the *Caryā-Carya-Viniścaya*, the first Siddhācārya and who also hailed from Uḍḍiyāna[19] must have been a Bengali, and is believed to have been a native of Rāḍha (West Bengal).[20] His *Śrī-Bhagavad-Abhisamaya* and *Abhisamaya-Vibhaṅga* contain philosophical disquisitions not exactly, as we are told, according to the Mahāyāna tenets, but essentially in accordance with his own conception of philosophy. The latter work, it has been well argued, could not have been a joint product of Lui-pāda and Atīśa Dīpaṅkara,[21] as it looks to have been from the *Catalogue of the Tangyur*, for the date of one of its commentators, Ratnakīrtti,[22] the logician, fell towards the close of the ninth century[23] or thereabout, while Atīśa belonged to the first half of the 11th century A.D. The confusion perhaps arose from that Atīśa himself wrote a book under the same title, *Bhagavad-Abhisamaya*.[24]

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[14] Cf. *Ind. Cult.*, VI, pp. 327-28.

[15] Cordier, *op. cit.*, p. 280.

[16] *Ibid.*

[17] *Ibid.*, p. 315.

[18] *IHQ.*, 1935, pp. 142-44.

[19] *Pag-San-Jon Zang. Index.*

[20] *Bauddha-Gān-O-Dohā*, H. P. Sastri, Preface.

[21] *Vaṅgīya Sāhitya Pariṣad Patrikā*, 1335 B. S., p. 157.

[22] Cordier, *op. cit.*, II, p. 50.

[23] Keith's *Buddhist Philosophy in India and Ceylon*, p. 233.

[24] Corider, *op. cit.*, II, p. 46.

One of the teachers of Atīśa, Ratnākara-Śānti who from the epithet *Rājācārya-Mahāpaṇḍita*, applied to him, appears to have been the preceptor of Mahīpāla I of Bengal, had, in his *Suddhimatī*,[25] commented on the *Abhisamayālaṅkāra* of Maitreyanātha, which is an exposition of the *Pañcaviṁśati-sāhasrikā* of the Yogācāra school. He, however, elucidated the *Aṣṭasāhasrikā-Prajñāpāramitā*[26] in his *Sārottama*, which is in 8,000 verses. He further wrote two other disquisitions on the philosophy of the *Prajñāpāramitā*, viz, the *Prajñāpāramitā bhāvanopadeśa* and *Prajñāpāramitopadeśa*.[27]

His contemporary Jetāri, who is also in tradition a teacher of the celebrated Atīśa and an inhabitant of Varendra[28] (North Bengal), produced at least two works on the Mahāyāna system, viz. the *Bodhicittotpāda-samādāna-vidhi*,[29] and a commentary on the *Bodhyāpatti-deśanā*,[30] entitled *Bodhisattva-śikṣā-krama*.

The *Prajñāpāramitā-piṇḍārtha-pradīpa* of Atīśa appears also to have been a gloss on the *Aṣṭasāhasrikā* rather than the *Pañca-viṁśati-sāhasrikā, Prajñāpāramitā*.[31] Of this glorious son of Bengal, we are informed that he "wrote several works and delivered upwards of one hundred discourses on the Mahāyāna Buddhism."[32] These include his *Madhyamopadeśa Satyadvayavatāra*, *Saṁgraha-garbha*, *Bodhisattva-maṇyāvalī*, *Mahāyāna-patha-sādhana-varṇa-saṁgraha*, *Sūtrārtha-samuccayopadeśa* and *Sikṣā-samuccaya-abhisamaya*.[33] His *Bodhimārga-pradīpa-pañjikā*[34] also deserves mention here.

It appears that there was an attempt at revival of the Mahāyāna in the 10th and 11th centuries A.D. An inscription at Bodhgayā, as we know, written in characters of about the 10th century A.D., on the base of a life-size image of the Buddha, reads "(Gift) of the senior monk Vīryendra, a knower of the *Vinaya* and an inmate of the great monastery of Somapura (N. Bengal), and an inhabitant of the Samataṭa country (E. Bengal) and a follower of the excellent Mahāyāna system.'"[35]

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[25] *Ibid.*, III, p. 281.

[26] *Ibid.*, p. 281.

[27] *Ibid.*, pp. 355, 390, 391.

[28] Vidyābhūṣaṇa, *History of Mediaeval School of Indian Logic*, 1909, p. 136.

[29] Cordier, III, pp. 332, 343.

[30] *Ibid.*, p. 368.

[31] *Ibid.*, p. 282.

[32] *JASB.*, 1891, p. 51.

[33] Cordier, III, pp. 51-53.

[34] *Ibid.*, p. 327.

Of Vīryendra, however, we have no literary composition. But another inmate of the Somapuri-Mahāvihāra, Bodhibhadra, wrote the *Jñānasāra-samuccaya*,[36] seemingly a Mahāyāna treatise.

The *Āmnāyānusārinī*, which is a gloss on the *Aṣṭasāhasrikā-prajñāpāramitā*, is said to be the work of *Śrī-rāja-Jagaddala-nivāsin*, who, as Dr. Cordier observes, seems to have been confounded in the colophon with King (*Nṛpati*) Rāmapāla.[37] The gloss was redacted in the temple of Śrī Mahābodhi in the seventh year, it is supposed, of Mahīpāla, but this is very much dubious. The anomaly that be in the colophon of the work does not, however, preclude the possibility of arriving at a solution in that the commentary was composed by the *prince* Rāmapāla during the reign of his elder (step) brother, Mahīpāla II, but we must, in this case, withal presume that the phrase *Śri-rāja-Jagaddala-nivāsin*, as such, is a later interpolation, for otherwise it would involve the idea of the existence of the Jagaddala *Vihāra* before the existence of the new capital of Rāmāvatī, where it was founded by Rāmapāla himself after he had become king.

Abhayākaragupta wrote a work on Abhisamaya (philosophy) under the title of *Yogāvalī*[38] during the reign of Rāmapāla, and to him is also attributed the authorship of a commentary, in 32 *parivartas* (chapters), called *Marma-kaumudī*[39] on the *Aṣṭa-sāhasrikā-prajñāpāramitā*, of the Madhyamaka school. But although Abhayākara belonged to the reign of Rāmapāla and figures in one account as a Bengal (Gauḍa) born,[40] his nativity is not past doubt, and he seems to have worked more in Magadha than in Bengal.[41] But Kuladatta, whose elaborate exposition of the rituals of the Mahāyāna school constitutes his *Kriyā-yoga-pañjika*, might have been really a Bengali.[42]

N. N. DAS GUPTA

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[35] *A.S.I., Ann. Rep.*, 1908-9, pp. 157-58.

[36] Cordier, III, p. 298.

[37] *Ibid.*, p. 285.

[38] *Ibid.*, p. 230

[39] *Ibid.*, p. 94.

[40] Cf. *Ind. Cult.*, III, pp. 369-72, and my *Bāṅgalāya Bauddha-dharma* (in Bengali), pp. 178-80.

[41] Sastri, *Des. Cat. of Sans. MSS in Govt. Collection under the care of the As. Soc. Beng.*, vol. I, pp. 119-26.

Ancient Indian Geography

*as revealed in Dharma-sūtras**

The *Dharma-sūtras* contain some geographical material about the India of the times in which they were composed. We propose to collect here the geographical names under appropriate heads. It may be pointed out that some of the names, collected herein, have not been mentioned in such standard works as De's *Geographical Dictionary of Ancient and Medieval India* and Cunningham's *Ancient Geography*.

In this collection, we have set forth such information about the geographical names as can be gathered from the texts and the commentaries thereon.

The geographical names are arranged below in the English Alphabetical order under the following classes: —

A. Rivers.
B. Mountains and Hills.
C. Places in general.

A. Rivers.

Candrabhāgā: Vi. 85.48

Its bank is regarded as very sacred for purposes of *śrāddha*, *japa*, *homa* and *tapas*.

Gaṅgāsāgara-saṃgama: Vi. 85.28

It serves the same purpose as the Candrabhāgā.

Gaṅgā: B.I. 2.11; V.I. 12; Vi. 20.23, 85.10

Acc. to some, the region bet. Gaṅgā and Yamunā is called Āryāvarta (B., V.) (Also see Yamunā). Its bank is very sacred for purposes of *śrāddha*, *japa*, *homa* and *tapas*.

Godāvarī: Vi. 85.42

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* The following abbreviations have been used in this paper: —
B — Baudhāyana or *Baudhāyana-dharmasūtra*, ed. A. C. Śāstri,
V. — Vasiṣṭha or *Vāsiṣṭha-dharmaśāstra*, ed. Führer, Bombay, 1883.
Vai — *Vaijayanti*, Nandapaṇḍita's comm. on *Viṣṇu-Smṛti*.
Vi — Viṣṇu or *Viṣṇu-Smṛti*, ed. Jolly, Calcutta, 1188.

Its bank is sacred for *śrāddha*, *homa*, *japa* and *tapas*.

Gomatī: Vi. 85.43 Do

Īrāvatī: Vi. 85.49 Do

Jyotiṣā: Vi. 85.33 Do
[See Śoṇa]

Kumāra-dhārā: Vi. 85.25

Kāśmīra-deśe krauñca-parvate kumāra-
śakti-prahārena jala-dhārā nirgatāsti
Sā kumāra-dhārā tasyām | dakṣina-
samudra iṣupāta-kṣetre vā. | Vai.

Mahā-gaṅgā: Vi. 85.23
Its bank is regarded as sacred for *śrāddha*, *japa*, *homa* and *tapas*.

Naḍantikā: Vi. 85.19 Do
(or Naḍintikā)

Narmadā: Vi. 85.8 Do

Phalgu: Vi. 85.22
'gayāstha'—Vai. Do

Sarayū: Vi. 85.32 Do

Sarasvatī: Vi. 85.27 Do

Śatadru: Vi. 85.47 Do

Śoṇa: Vi. 85.33
Acc. to Vai., the confluence of the Śoṇa and the Jyotiṣā (see *ante*) lies in the midst of the Vindhyas.
Its bank is sacred for *śrāddha*, *japa*, *homa* and *tapas*.

Vetravatī: Vi. 85.45 Do

Vitastā: Vi. 85.46 Do

Yamunā: B.I. 2.11; V.I. 12; Vi. 85.9
See Gaṅgā

B. Mountains and hills.

Amara-kaṇṭaka: Vi. 85.6
It is sacred for the performance of *śrāddha*, *japa*, *homa* and *tapas*.

Himavat: B.I. 2.10; V.I. 8
It constitutes the northern boundary of Āryāvarta, acc. to B. and V.

Kālaka-vana: B.I. 2.10., V. I. 8

It constitutes the eastern boundary of Āryāvarta.

Mahālaya: Vi. 85.18

It is sacred for *śrāddha*, *japa*, *homa* and *tapas*.

Pāriyātra: B. I. 2.10; V. I. 8

1 A mountain-range (Bühler)

2 Western Vindhya range (MW) (For the variant 'pāripātra', see Bühler, SBE. XIV. p.147, f.n.9)

It is the southern boundary of Āryāvarta.

Śrī-parvata: Vi. LXXXV. 34.

Dakṣiṇa-deśasthaḥ Śrīśailo mallikārjunasthānam-Vai.

A mountain in the Deccan, the place of Mallikārjuna (a symbol of Śiva)

Varāha: Vi. 85.7

Varāhākāre parvata-viśeṣe-Vai.

On it *śrāddha*, *japa*, *homa* and *tapas* are commended.

Vindhya: V. I. 9

The southern limit of Āryāvarta

C. Places in general.

Agastyāśrama. Vi. 85.29.

*puṣkara-samīpe sarasvatī-*tīre

......*dakṣiṇa-deśe svāmisthāne*vā-Vai.

It is a sacred place for *śrāddha*, *japa*, *homa* and *tapas*.

Aṅga: B. I. 2.14.

People of this place are of mixed castes.

Avanti: B. I. 2.14.

People of this place are said to be *saṃkīrṇa-yonayaḥ* (of mixed castes).

Āryāvarta[1]: B. I. 2.10-13; V. I. 8-15 Vi. 84.4

The extent of Āryāvarta, as described by B., is as follows:—

Bounded on the north by the Himavat, on the east by the

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[1] For a discussion on Āryāvarta, as conceived by authors of *Dharma-sūtras*, see Cunningham's *Ancient Geography*, pp. xi-xiii. This work however, does not take the *Viṣṇu-smṛti* into account.

Kālaka-vana[2], on the south by the Pāriyātra[3] (or Pāripātra) and on the west by *adarśana* (the place where the river Sarasvatī has dried up and disappeared. That the exact extent of the Āryāvarta was a matter of controversy, even at the time of composition of B., is clearly indicated by B's reference to the views of others according to which this tract of land lies between the Gaṅgā and the Yamunā. The Bhāllavins, referred to by B., described Āryāvarta as follows:—

> *paścāt sindhur visaraṇī sūryasyodayanaṃ purah/*
> *yāvat kṛṣṇo vidhāvati tāvaddhi brahmavarcasam//*

We may, however, negatively form an idea of the extent of Āryāvarta, as conceived by B., by excluding those regions which have been declared unholy and a visit to which is said to render a man liable to expiation. The unholy places are as follows:—

Avanti, Aṅga, Magadha, Surāṣṭra,
Dakṣiṇāpatha, Upāvṛt, Sindhu, Sauvīra, Āraṭṭa,
Kāraskara, Puṇḍra, Vaṅga, Kaliṅga, Prānūna (B. I. 2.14-16)

It is not, however, clear whether or not these prohibited places were also included in Āryāvarta by B.

V's conception of Āryāvarta is the same as that of B. with the difference that the former reads *ādarśa* for *adarśana* read by the latter. The other views, given by V., are the same as those referred to by B. Acc. to Vi., Āryāvarta is the tract of land beyond the regions known as Mleccha-deśa. Mleccha-deśa is the name given by Vi. to those places where the caste-system does not prevail (Vi. 84.4).

Āraṭṭa: B. I. 2.15.
Entrance into this place is said to render one liable to expiation.

Ausaja: Vi. 85.52
Śūrpākāraṃ dakṣiṇa-deśasthaṃ tīrthaṃ-Vai. A place sacred for *śrāddha*, *japa*, *homa* and *tapas*.

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[2] Probably name of a mountain as suggested by Patañjali on II. 4.10. Some would identify it with Prayāga (vide Cunningham, *op. cit.*, p. XII. f.n.). Others would take it as the ancient name of the Rajmahal hills in Bihar (vide *Geographical Dictionary*, p. 84).

[3] Acc. to Bühler, name of a mountain identified by Monier Williams (*Skt-Eng. Dictionary*) as the western Vindhya range. It, however, appears to have been different from the Vindhyas.

Binduka: Vi. 85.12
dakṣiṇa-deśastha-tīrtha-viśeṣaḥ-Vai. Sacred for *śrāddha*, *japa*, *homa* and *tapas*.

Bhṛgu-tuṅga: Vi. 85.16.
Amara-kaṇṭaka-samīpastho vindhyapādaḥ-Vai. Sacred for *śrāddha*, *japa*, *homa* and *tapas*.

Dakṣiṇāpatha: B. I. 2.14
People of this place are branded as *saṅkīrṇa-yonayaḥ*.

Gaṅgādvāra: Vi. 85.28
Sacred for *śrāddha*, *japa*, *homa* and *tapas*

Gayā: Vi. 85.4,66 Do

Kaliṅga: B. I. 2.15,16
Entrance into this region is said to render a man liable to expiation.

Kanakhala: Vi. 85.14
Uttara-parvatastham tryambakastham vā-Vai.
Sacred for *śrāddha*, *japa*, *homa* and *tapas*.

Kaṇvāśrama: Vi. 85.30
Mālinī-tīre-Vai.
Sacred for *śrāddha*, *japa*, *homa* and *tapas*.

Kāraskara: B. I. 2.15
Entrance into this tract of land is said to render one liable to *prāyaścitta*.

Kālodaka: Vi. 85.35,
Yāmunas tīrtha-viśeṣaḥ-Vai.
Sacred for *śraddha*, *japa*, *homa* and *tapas*.

Kedāra: Vi. 85.17
Uttara-parvatasthaḥ-Vai,
Sacred for *śrāddha*, *homa*, *japa* and *tapas*.

Kausikī: Vi. 85.31. Do

Kubjāmra: Vi. 85.15 Do
Utkala-deśastham gaṅgā-dvārastham vā-Vai.

Kuśāvatta: Vi. 85.11 Do
tryambaka-giristho godāvarī-prabhavaḥ-Vai.

Magadha: B. I. 2,14
People of this place are said to be *saṅkīrṇa-yonayaḥ*.

Mātaṅga-vāpī: Vi. 85.38 Do
gayā-dakṣiṇa-bhāgasthā-Vai

Mleccha-viṣaya: Vi. 84.1,2,4

Śrāddha in, even visit to, this region is condemned. Vi. defines Mleccha-deśa as the land where the caste-system does not prevail.

Nīla-parvata:. Vi. 85.13

It is sacred for purposes of *śrāddha*, *japa*, *homa* and *tapas*.

Naimiṣāraṇya: Vi. 85.28 Do

Pañca-nada: Vi. 85.51 Do

Kṛṣṇa-veṇā-tuṅgabhadrā koṇānāṃ pañcānāṃ nadīnāṃ samāhāra-deśe-Vai.

Prabhāsa: Vi. 85.26 Do

dvārakā-samīpe-Vai.

Puṇḍra: B. I. 2. 15

A visit to this place renders one liable to expiation.

Prayāga: Vi. 85. 28

Sacred for *śrāddha*, *japa*, *homa* and *tapas*.

Prāṇūna: B.I. 2. 15

A visit to this tract of land renders one liable to expiation.

Puṣkara: Vi. 85.1

Sacred for *śrāddha*, *japa*, *homa* and *tapas*.

Saptārṣa: Vi. 85.39

A place for pilgrimage, according to Vai. Do

Śākambharī: Vi. 85 21. Do

Sindhu: B.I. 2. 14; V.I. 15 Vi. 85, 50

People of this region are branded as *saṃkīrṇa.yonayaḥ* It is rather curious that Vi. reads it among the rivers whose banks are regarded as sacred for *śrāddha*, *japa*, *homa* and *tapas*.

Sugandhā: Vi. 85.20

Saugandhika-nadī-samīpasthā—Vai.

Sacred for *śrāddha*, *japa*, *homa* and *tapas*.

Surāṣṭra: B.I. 2.15

People of this region are said to be *saṅkīrṇa-yonayaḥ*

Sauvīra: B.I. 2.14,15.

People of this place are like those of Surāṣṭra. Besides, entrance to this region is said to render one liable to *prāyaścitta*.

Tribalika-grāma: Vi. 85.24

Śāla-grāmaḥ taṇḍulikāśrama iti vā pāṭhaḥ—Vai.

Regarded as sacred for *śrāddha*, *japa*, *homa* and *tapas*

Upāvṛt: B.I. 2.14

People of this place are characterised as *Saṅkīrṇa-yonayaḥ*

Uttara-mānasa: Vi. 85.36

Kedārottara-parvatastham—Vai.

Sacred for *śrāddha*, *japa*, *homa* and *tapas*.

Vaḍavā: Vi. 85.37

tīrtha-viśeṣo dakṣiṇa-deśasthaḥ—Vai.

Identification, given in the *Geographical Dictionary*, appears to be different.

Sacred for *śrāddha*, *japa*, *homa* and *tapas*.

Vaṅga: B.I. 2.15, 16

Sojourn to this place is said to render one liable to expiation.

Vārāṇasī: Vi. 85.28

Sacred for *śrāddha*, *japa*, *homa* and *tapas*.

Sures Chandra Banerji

Kṛṣṇa and Balarāma in Rājasthāna Sculptures and Epigraphs

The antiquity of Kṛṣṇa-Baladeva worship in ancient Rājasthāna can be traced back to very early times. An inscription[1] (in the *Brāhmī* script of about the second century B. C.) from the village Ghosuṇḍī (near Nagarī, Chittor, Udaipur State) refers to the construction of a *pūjā śilā prākāra* in honour of Saṅkarṣaṇa and Vāsudeva: —"*Bhagva (d) bhyāṃ Saṅkarṣaṇa-Vāsudevā-bhyāṃ anahitābhyāṃ sarveśvarābhyāṃ pūjāśilā prākāro nārāyaṇavāṭikā.*" It is now evident that Kṛṣṇa and Baladeva were being worshipped together in Rājasthāna during the regime of the Śuṅga rulers in India. The *Nārāyaṇavāṭikā* of the above epigraph appears to have been the earliest Vaiṣṇava sanctuary of India (cf. V. S. Agrawala, *op. cit.*, pp. 41-2).

A. *Early Sculptures*

As regards the depiction of Balarāma and Kṛṣṇa in ancient Indian sculpture, very few images pertaining to the pre-Gupta period have seen the light of the day[2] As regards such sculptures from Rājasthāna

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Abbreviations used: —

JISOA = *Journal of the Indian Society of Oriental Art*, Calcutta.
ASR = *Archaeological Survey of India, Annual Report*, (Imperial Series).
CASR = *Cunningham's Archaeological Survey Report*, Calcutta.
PRASWC = *Progress Report, Archaeological Survey of India, Western Circle*, Poona.
IHQ. = *Indian Historical Quarterly*, Calcutta.

[1] *EI.*, XXII, pp. 198-205; Sircar D. C., *Select Inscriptions*, 1942, Calcutta. pp. 91-2; V. S. Agrawala, *Śodhapatrikā* (Hindi), Udaipur, IV, no. 3, pp. 36-42; R. C. Agrawala, *Śodhapatrikā*, June 1954, pp. 1-10; D. R. Bhandarkar, *The Archaeological Remains and Excavations at Nagari*, 1920, Calcutta, p. 119.

[2] *Saṅkarṣaṇa dvitiyasya balaṃ Kṛṣṇasya vardhatāṃ* in the *Mahābhāṣya* of Patañjali (11.2.25). Cf. R. C. Chanda, *Archaeology and Vaiṣṇava Tradition*, 1920, Calcutta, pp. 152 ff., for the antiquity of Kṛṣṇa-worship as depicted in ancient Indian literature and epigraphs.

[3] Cf. *JISOA.*, XIV, pp. 24 ff.; *Journal of the U.P. Historical Society*, Lucknow, XXI, pp. 121-2; cf. *ibid.*, XXII, pp. 142 ff.

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it is only in the Gupta period and onwards[3a] that we find Kṛṣṇa-*Līlā* scenes being carved in stone in an excellent manner. In fact Kṛṣṇa-cult became much more popular in this part of the country and its best manifestation can also be found in the Rājapūt paintings[3b]—a fact which is well known to every student of Indian art and culture.

I. *Bikaner*:—

During his archaeological survey in the North of Bīkāner region, Dr. Tessitory recovered some very interesting terracotta baked bricks from Raṅgamahal (an ancient site about 4 miles from Sūratgarh, in the present Bikaner division). These reliefs of the early Gupta period depict some Śaiva and Vaiṣṇava themes; most prominent of the latter being the *Govardhanadhāraṇa* (lifting the Govardhan Mountain) and the *Dāna-līlā* scenes. These antiquities,[4] now preserved in the museum at Bikaner, depict tangible influence of the Gandhāra art and it is now not plausible to date them in the first century B. C. Some pieces of a still later date too were recovered from the region of Raṅgamahal.

II. *Jodhpur*:—

It was about 50 years back that two huge, rectangular red sandstone pillars (each measuring about 12 to 13 feet in height) were discovered at Maṇḍora (ancient Māṇḍavyapura, about 5¼ miles from the city of Jodhpur). These relics of the Gupta[5] period, which

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[3a] Cf. *ASR*, 1926-7, plate XLVI, d.; *JISOA.*, XIV, pp. 24 ff; *ASR.*, 1925-6, pp. 183-4; M. R. Majumdar's paper in the *Gujrāta Mitra* (Gujrāti), Diwālī No., V. S. 2009, pp. 11-12; *Journal of the Oriental Institute*, Baroda, I (i), pp. 51-9; *PRASWC.*, 1921, pp. 95 ff, plate XX.

[3b] The depiction of Kṛṣṇa and Rādhā in the later mural paintings of royal palaces at Jodhpur, Bikaner etc., too forms a separate subject of study.

[4] *PRASWC.*, 1921, p. 115; H. Goetz, *Art and Architecture of Bikaner State*, Oxford, 1950, p. 26, figure 5.

[5] There appears to have been some inscription on one of the pillars but it is now altogether blurred. The triangular signs on the head of the letters alone remain to bear testimony to the Gupta script of the epigraph which was once inscribed there. It is not plausible to agree with G. H. Ojha who, in his *History of the Jodhpur State* (Hindi), pt. I, 1938, Ajmer, p. 26 f.n. 3, tried to date these pillars as late as the 9th or 10th century A.D.

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perhaps served the purpose of a gate-way[6] to some Vaiṣṇava shrine in the contemporary times on the ancient fort at Maṇḍora, now grace the Archaeology section of the Sardār Museum, Jodhpur. Scenes from the life of Kṛṣṇa[7] alone can be seen carved on both these pillars, such as *Govardhanadhāraṇa*,[8] *Kṛṣṇa lying near the Mother*, *Śakaṭabhaṅga līlā*, *Fight with ass and bull demons*, *Kāliya damana* etc. A fragmentary inscription of the early Pratihāra period from Maṇḍora also refers to Kṛṣṇa's play with Rādhā and the *gopīs* at Gokula etc.:— *gopi girau gokule śrutvā Rādhikayā svabhūṣaṇa-vidhiḥ Śaureḥ*—etc. Another piece from this very place makes reference to Vāsudeva:— *oṃ namo Bhagavate Vāsudevāya*.[8a]

III *Bharatpur*:—

Rock-cut huge statues of Balarāma and Revatī (his consort) discovered at Rūpabāsa[9] (Bharatpur State) are also some of the best specimens of the Gupta art. The former measures 22½ feet while the latter measures about 19′ 3″ (*CASR*, Calcutta, XX, p. 98).

B. *Mediaeval Sculptures and Epigraphs.*

The study of mediaeval sculptures and epigraphs of Rājpūtānā throws a flood of light on the growth and development of the cult of

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[6] Some scholars even like to call these pillars as *toraṇa stambhas* but they appear to have been fixed at the gate-way of the shrine.

[7] *ASR.*, 1905-6, pp. 135-40; *ibid*, 1909-10, pp. 93 ff; *PRASWC.*, 1907, pp. 30 ff; Anand Coomaraswamy, *History of Indian and Indonesian Art*, 1927, London, p. 26 and f.n. 3, plate XLIV, figure 166; *JISOA.*, XIV, pp. 18-19; N. R. Ray in *The Classical Age*, Bombay, 1954, pp. 521-2; R. G. Bhandarkar, *Vaiṣṇavism and Śaivism*, Strassberg, pp. 40-1.

[8] O. C. Gangoly (*Journal of Gaṅgā Nāth Jhā Research Society*, VII, 1949, pp. 1-27) has given an interesting interpretation of *Indra-Cult* and the depiction of *Govardhana-dhāraṇa*. This scene (i.e. *Govardhana-dhāraṇa*) alone covers a space about 6′4″ × 2′2″ on one of the Maṇḍor pillars under review.

[8a] These fragmentary inscriptions have now been preserved in the Sardār Museum, Jodhpur.

[9] Cf. also Coomaraswamy, *op. cit.*, pp. 86-7; Rai Kṛṣṇa Dāss, *Prācina Bhāratiya Mūrti Kalā*, (Hindi), V.S. 2001, Banaras, p. 102; Cf. *CASR.*, Calcutta, VI, p. 20 for the Viṣṇu image of this very type at Rūpabāsa itself and a comment on it in *JISOA.*, XIII, pp. 70-1.

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Baladeva-Kṛṣṇa in this part of India. This material found in several States[10] of Rājasthāna, may be referred to here in nutshell.

1. *Bharatpur* :—

A passing reference to some early sculptures from Rūpabāsa has already been made above. An inscription from Kāmān (ancient Kāmavana) enumerates various forms and names of Viṣṇu including the epithet Ghanaśyāma, a name which is usually given to Kṛṣṇa (*CASR.*, XX, pp.57-8; cf. *Indian Antiquary*, X, p.54). The popularity of Kṛṣṇa-cult gained a very firm grounding in the region round about Kāmān (Cf. *CASR.*, XX, p.54) for it is quite close to Mathurā and *Vrajabhūmi*. In the Koṭiśvara temple at Kāmān, Dr. D. R. Bhandarkar found a fragment of some bas-relief which was associated by him with the *Goṣṭha-līlā* of Kṛṣṇa (*PRASWC.*, 1919, p. 65).

The Rājpūtānā Museum at Ajmer contains a sculpture (no. 285) from Kaṭārā (Bharatpur) wherein Balarāma (holding the plough) is to be seen standing by the side of his consort Revatī. The latter too has been shown in the *sthānaka mudrā*.

II. *Jaipur* :—

"The figures of Kṛṣṇa and Gopīs, in the *rāsa-līlā* pose, in white marble from a certain temple at Āmber are also to be noted here with interest (S. P. Srivastava, *Rājasthāna and its Traditions*, Jaipur, 1951, p.28).

The Albert Museum at Jaipur contains a Viṣṇu image from Sāmbhar (no. 1194 of the catalogue) wherein the different incarnations of Viṣṇu have also been depicted in a traditional manner in the *pradkṣiṇā* order "except that the plough-bearing Balarāma, who in accordance with the *Bhāgavat Purāṇa* is intended to represent him-

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[10] It is regretted that the question of Kṛṣṇa-*līlā* scenes at Osian, Kirādu and Kekīnda has remained untouched so far. I stand obliged to the Government of Rājasthān for giving me an opportunity of studying these, so far unheeded, sculptures in detail and for sending this short note for the kind consideration of art critics. The scenes at Kekīnda were simply hinted at by Dr. Bhandarkar but he did not describe them with full details. The study of these valuable sculptures from Mārwār is very fascinating indeed.

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self and his younger brother Kṛṣṇa, is carved at the proper right end of the lower portion of the slab.[11]

Another stone piece from Sāmbhara (no. 1193 of Jaipur Museum) is "a simplified copy of the above sculpture and it is interesting to find here the "two armed figure of Balarāma—represented as a *nāga* and therefore holding a bowl in his right hand and a *hala* in the left hand" (Sahni, *op. cit.* p.16).

III. *Bānswārā* : —

A black stone sculpture (measuring 2′ 6″ x 1′ 11″ x 8″) from Arthūṇā[12] and now preserved in the Rājapūtānā Museum at Ajmer[13] is a very interesting piece of the eleventh or early twelfth century A. D. In the words of Mr. U. C. Bhattacharya,[14] in this image, "we find a sleeping female reclining on her left side upon a four poster bedstead. She supports her head on her left palm. A child is lying sprawling on a cushion beside the mother, touching her left breast with one of its hands and seems to be looking at her face joyfully. There is a seated female attendant who is shampooing her left foot, which is broken in the present sculpture. A row of 10 standing figures is sculptured behind the sleeping body". Quite a large number of scholars try to interpret such sculptures as representing infant Kṛṣṇa nursed by the mother Devakī while some even go to the extent of opining that they relate to the birth of Lord Mahāvira[15] or Buddha or even Maheśvara. On the other hand, Mr. Bhattacharya (*op. cit.*) is against any attempt of the identification of the above lady with Devakī in the prison house of Kaṃsa while he is of the opinion that the Arthūṇā sculpture of the Ajmer Museum "really represents Yaśodā (wife of Nanda of Gokula) reposing with

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[11] D. R. Sahni, *Archaeological Remains and Excavations at Sambhar*, p. 16, plate I a.

[12] 24 miles from the town of Bāṇswāṛa.

[13] No. 448/1 of this Museum.

[14] In his paper 'Sculpture Representing Mother and Child' published in the *Prabuddha Bhārata*, Calcutta, February 1944. I stand obliged to Mr. Bhattacharya for having sent a copy of this note for reference here.

[15] Cf. Coomaraswamy, *op. cit.*, figure 1 for the nativity scene of Mahāvira from Paṭhārī in Madhya Bhārata.

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infant Kṛṣṇa conveyed to her couch by Vāsudeva while she was asleep after delivery".

The mother lying on the bed (in the above sculpture) wears a long *mukuṭa*[16] on the head and some ornaments round the neck, on the arms, ears, etc. A *dhotī* like object covers the lower part of her body.

G. H. Ojha (*History of Bānswārā State*, Hindī, 1937, p. 19) also refers to a sculpture of Pūtanā (a lady demon) near the Hanumāna temple at Arthūṇā in the Bānswārā State.

IV. *Udaipur*:—

An inscription of V. S. 1485 (=1428 A. D.) in the temple near Ekaliṅgji (Udaipur State) refers to the construction of a temple in honour of Dvārakādhīśa (Kṛṣṇa) at the hands of Mokala (*IHQ*., 1945, p. 286). It is believed that Rāṇā Rājasiṃha had brought the image (of Kṛṣṇa) from Mathurā where it was under worship for the last so many centuries. The image was removed to Nāthadwārā after the invasion of Aurangzeb on Mathurā (*ibid*., p. 287).

Near the famous *Kīrtti-stambha* of Chittor stands the temple of Kumbhasvāmī[17] (or Kumbhaśyāma) which was built by Rāṇā Kumbhā in *V. S.* 1505 (=1448 A. D.). The slabs here have been carved (on the side wall of the *Nāṭamaṇḍapa*) with Kṛṣṇāyṇa stories as at Sohāgpur (*JISOA*, XIV, 1946, p. 20). The niches here include the sculptures of Dāmodara, Kṛṣṇa, Rukmiṇī, Śrīdhara, Rāma, Lakṣmaṇa, Mādhava etc., (*PRASWC*., 1905, p. 59). This bears testimony to the popularity of Kṛṣṇa-cult as late as the end of the 15th century A. D. We have already seen above (on the basis of the Ghosuṇḍī epigraph) that this part of Rājapūtānā is proud enough of having possibly the earliest sanctuary of the Vaiṣṇava creed.

V. *Sirohī*:—

There exists a mediaeval temple of Śyamalāji at Nandiā (G. H. Ojha, *History of Sirohī State* (Hindi), 1911, Ajmer, p. 32) and also an image of Yaśodā at Girivara (*ibid*, p. 44) in the *śobhāmaṇḍapa* of the Vaiṣṇava shrine called by the name of *Pāṭa*-nārāyaṇa.

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[16] The use of a *mukuṭa* by ladies even at the time of delivery (in case we agree with [illegible] Bhattacharya) seems to be very strange indeed.

[17] G. H. Ojha, *History of Rājputānā* (Hindi), Ajmer, 1927, vol. I, p. 335. It is not actually the temple of Mirābāī though the people call it as Mirābāī-kā-Mandira.

VI. *Jodhpur*: —[18]

The Jodhpur inscription[19] of Rūpādevī, dated in *V. S.* 1340 (= 1283 A. D.), presents a vivid description of the *Govardhana-dhāraṇa līlā* of Kṛṣṇa when it states: —*Prārambhe hasitaṃ bhujabhramakirīṭairāndolanairvismitaṃ; mlānaṃ bāhu latopapīḍanabhiya prollāsane bhūbhṛitaḥ. Dattāḥ Kṛṣṇakarābjaśāyinī nage śreyāṃsi puṣṇaṃtu vo; gopībhirbbhujavalli-kaṅkaṇakaṇatkārottarāstālikāḥ.*

Mediaeval sculptures from Mārwār (i.e. Jodhpur region) throw considerable light on the depiction of Baladeva and Vāsudeva in stray sculptures on the outside portion of the temples etc. Some of them are very unique indeed. The truth of this statement will be attested from the study of the monuments and sculptures found at the following places in Mārwār: —

(a) *Maṇḍor*

The latter portion of the Heroes Hall at Maṇḍor was constructed in the times of Mahārāja Abhaya Singh of Jodhpur (18th century A. D.). It consists of huge rock-cut statues of various Hindu gods and goddesses; and the former includes a statue of Kṛṣṇa also.

During the course of the excavations (in 1904-5 A. D.), at Maṇḍor, was discovered an early mediaeval sculpture whose photograph alone exists in the album of the Western Circle of the Department of Archaeology in India.[20] This piece represents a *caturbbhuja sthānaka* deity having the mace in the upper right hand while the upper left holds the *cakra*. The lower left hand rests on the waist of the lady standing to his left; while the lower right is hanging down below. The right arm of the lady naturally clings round the neck of the male and this hand rests on his right shoulder. The garland of the male deity hangs below up to the middle portion of his legs. There are no *āyudha-puruṣas* to be seen here in the sculpture.[21] The male deity wears a *mukuṭa* on the head and two garlands round his neck. The dress of the lower part of his body seems to be very attractive indeed. The faces of the sculpture have been damaged perhaps by the Muslim invaders. It appears that this sculpture represents Kṛṣṇa and Rukmiṇī standing together. A somewhat similar image from elsewhere has also been published by T. G. Rao in his *Elements of Hindu Iconography*, Madras, I (i), plate LVIII facing p. 205.

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[18] For Kṛṣṇa in Mārwār (Jodhpur division) sculptures consult my papers published in some Hindī papers of Rājasthāna such as: —*Prajāsevaka*. Jodhpur, September 2, 1953; *ibid*., Sept. 30, 1953; *Lokavāṇī*, Jaipur, November 29, 1953; *Śodhapatrikā*, Udaipur, March 1954, pp. 4-5; *ibid*., June 1954; *Lokavāṇī*, Jan. 3, 1954; also *IHQ*., June 1954, p. 154 f.n. 1, 2, 3.

[19] *Epigraphia Indica*, IV, p. 313; Cf. C. Śivarāmamūrti, *Proceedings and Transactions of the All India Oriental Conference, 13th Session held at Nagpur*, 1951, p. 41 of *Archaeological Section*.

[20] Nothing is known about this image. I happened to study the photograph only and could not trace the actual sculpture even in the Sardār Museum at Jodhpur.

(b) *Osian*[22]

1. The early mediaeval temples at Osian present sufficient material pertaining to Baladeva and Vāsudeva and specially various scenes from the life of the latter. Outside the village there are several ruined temples which bear testimony to the carving of Kṛṣṇa *līlā* scenes on the outside portion of their main shrines. These scenes can briefly be noted as:—*Vāsudeva taking the baby Kṛṣṇa on his head, Kṛṣṇa and Yaśodā, Śakaṭa-bhaṅga, fight with horse and bull demons, murder of Pūtanā, Kāliyadamana, Govardhana-dhāraṇa, stealing the butter* etc.

In one of the 4 subsidiary shrines of a *Pañcāyatana* Harihara temple outside the village at Osian, an outer niche depicts *caturbhuja* Balarāmá holding a ploughshare and a club in his two back hands. The third hand holds the wine cup while Balarāma is clasping his consort Revatī (standing by his side) with the fourth hand. This is quite an unusual combination depicted in ancient Indian art (*JISOA.*, XIV, 1946, p. 26; cf. *ASR.*, 1908-9, p. 104). There is also a canopy of the 5 hoods of a snake over the head of Balarāma. This iconographic representation is quite in keeping with the mythological belief that regards Balarāma as an incarnation of Śeṣa—King of Serpents.

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[21] The presence of the *āyudhas* of Viṣṇu (i.e. *gadā* and *cakra*) here is a definite proof of the sculpture being Vaiṣṇava in its theme.

[22] About 38 or 39 miles from Jodhpur. The village Osian is situated about half a mile from the railway station Osian on the Jodhpur-Pokaraṇa railway line.

2. In a small chapel to the right of Sacīyāmātā's temple at Osian, the ceiling of the shrine-porch depicts Rādhā and Kṛṣṇa (playing on his flute)[23] sitting together and surrounded by the *Nāgas* (serpents). Dr. Bhandarkar (*ASR.*, 1908-9, p. 110) is justified in interpreting the scene as representing Kṛṣṇa and Rādhā. The entrance of the main shrine also depicts figures of Saṅkarṣaṇa-Vāsudeva on the pilasters (*ibid.*, p. 110). On the inner side of the shrine porch of this very temple has also been carved the famous *Govardhana-dhāraṇa* scene wherein we find Kṛṣṇa lifting the mountain on the fingers of his left hand. But the most interesting point to be noted here is the depiction of the *vrajavāsīs* (people of Vraja) helping their leader Kṛṣṇa in the noble task. They too are lifting the mountain on the palms of both of their hands. The cows and the bulls too can be seen near by as usual.

3. On the outside portion of the famous Sun temple, (situated near the *Rāwalās*, inside the village), Balarāma has been depicted as standing alone[24] in a small niche. The plough and the hoods of the snake above his head can well be recognised here. Besides this, on both the sides of the two projecting pilasters of this temple have been carved beautiful figures of the dancing females. It is above these figures that Balarāma can be seen on one side and Kṛṣṇa on the

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[23] The Sardār Museum at Jodhpur also contains an unpublished image from Kirāḍu wherein the above scene has been represented but without the appearance of the serpents. It is very likely that the sculpture of the Jodhpur Museum too indicates Rādhā sitting by the side of Kṛṣṇa who is playing on his flute.

[24] Similar images of Balarāma have also been discovered at Kheḍa (*PRASWC.*, 1912, p. 56), Sevāḍi (*ibid*, 1908, p. 54), Kekīnda, Merta City (Mahālakṣmī temple) etc., also situated in the Jodhpur division. The Sevāḍi sculpture definitely proves that Balarāma was the eighth incarnation of Viṣṇu for, in this sculpture, he figures next in succession to the seventh *avatāra* of Viṣṇu (Cf. also photo no. 2967 of Western circle, Poona).

[25] For an image of Balarāma (having 4 hands) from Bengal consult *IHQ.*, 1941, p. 383; and for an image of 4 handed Kṛṣṇa (lifting the mount Govardhana) from the same place, consult *ASR.*, 1926-7, p. 143.

other. Both of them bear 4 hands[25] and both are seated on *garuḍa* which is the *vāhana* of Viṣṇu. Kṛṣṇa has got all the four attributes of Viṣṇu in his hands i.e. the conch, the mace, the wheel and the lotus. On the other hand, Balarāma can well be recognised because of the club and the ploughshare in two of his back hands; one of his front hands is in the *Jñāna mudrā* while the other front hands holds a conch. Besides this, the canopy of snake-hoods has been depicted as usual. Bhandarkar (*ASR.*, 1908-9, pp. 106-113) rightly identified the above figures as representing Kṛṣṇa on one side and Balarāma on the other. Both of them have been represented as the *avatāras* of Viṣṇu here. These sculptures, according to J. N. Banerjee (*JISOA.*, XIV, pp. 26-7), are very unique indeed for "Balarāma on *garuḍa* and with a conch in his hand is a rare mode of showing *Vyūha Saṅkarṣaṇa*; the other being that where he is depicted like Vāsudeva in all respects but holding the *gadā*, *śaṅkha*, *padma* and *cakra*". Further Dr. Banerjee refers to a four armed image[26] of Baladeva from Baghra (Bengal) which can be dated in the late mediaeval period. The latter image needs comparision with the above sculptures from Osian. The *Jñāna mudrā*, (in one of the hands of Balarāma at Osian), can well be explained by "the *Pañcarātra* ideology that Saṅkarṣaṇa-Balarāma typified knowledge and it was he who expounded the *Sātvatavidhi*" (*JISOA.*, XIV, p. 27).

(c) *Kekīnda*

Inside the domical ceiling of the Nīlakaṇṭha Mahādeva temple (10-11th centuries A. D.) at Kekīnda[27] have been carved numerous scenes from the life of Kṛṣṇa. Most prominent of them are: —

(1) Fight with horse-demon.

(2) Fight with bull-demon.

(3) *Pūtanāvadha*. Kṛṣṇa, lying in the lap of treacherous Pūtanā, is sucking milk from her breast with such a great force that both of her hands have gone up out of severe and abnormal pain in the whole breast.

(4) Stealing the butter (*navanīta*). Two ladies are standing

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[26] For details consult *JISOA.*, XIV, pp. 26-7.

[27] About 14 miles from Merta City or 87 miles from Jodhpur. Its ancient name was *Kiṣkindhā*.

near Kṛṣṇa who is shown taking out butter from the pot kept in front of him.

(5) A male and a female standing together. Both of them are carrying a baby in their laps. The lady appears to be Yaśodā.[28] The former is perhaps Nanda who holds Balarāma in his lap.

(6) Two ladies, each having a baby in her lap, are standing near a lady who is busy in churning the curd. This scene perhaps refers to the daily life of the people of Vraja, associated with the life of Kṛṣṇa in his boyhood days.

(7) An old man, having a baby in his lap and a stick in the other hand, appears to be Nanda Bābā.

(8) At one place are shown some cows and nearby is to be seen a calf sucking its mother's milk. This also seems to represent a scene from the life of the people inhabiting Vraja.

It is amazing to find the total absence of the *Govardhana-dhāraṇa* scene at Kekīnda. It has to be accounted as to why the particular sculptor or some other person who planned to construct this temple (so rich in *Kṛṣṇa* and *Rāma*[29]*-līlā* scenes) completely ignored such a well known incident (as *Govardbana-dhāraṇa*) so much associated with the life of Kṛṣṇa and his followers.

Inside the *sabhāmaṇḍapa* of the above Śiva temple can also be seen (to the left) a stone image of "a lady carrying a baby in her lap"—now worshipped under the name of *Bemātā*. It measures about 2 feet 9 inches in height and 2 feet 3½ inches in breadth. In this interesting sculpture a *Śiśukarodā*[30] lady has been shown seated and her left hand placed under the head of the baby who is lying in her lap. Dr. Bhandarkar (*PRASWC.*, 1911, p. 36) has identified this sculpture with that of Yaśodā and Kṛṣṇa. Not only that, he even suggested that probably the sculpture "was originally placed in the sanctum and was the object of worship there as the figures on the friezes belong to the life of Kṛṣṇa." Thus Dr. Bhandarkar tried to conjecture that at one time some Kṛṣṇa-sanctuary used to exist at Kekīnda. But it has to be searched further as how the same temple later on came to be converted into a Śaiva shrine? The depiction of stories relating to Rāma and Kṛṣṇa, of course, goes a long way in regarding the sacred place as an important monument closely associated with the Vaiṣṇava cult.

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[28] i.e. *Śiśukarodā* Yaśodā.

[29] Vide my paper in *IHQ.*, June 1954, pp. 156-7 for a detailed description of the *Rāmāyaṇa* scenes at Kekinda and various other places of Rājasthāna.

[30] Cf. similar images from Maṇḍor, Osian, Arthūṇā etc., as already cited above

(d) *Kirāḍu*[31]

To the left of the entrance of the well known Someśvara temple at Kirāḍu have been depicted several *Kṛṣṇāyaṇa* stories such as: —

1. Three cows standing before a person (perhaps Kṛṣṇa as a cowherd).
2. Kṛṣṇa's fight with horse-demon.
3. *Śakaṭabhaṅga*—where an upturned cart reminds us of the famous *Śakaṭabhaṅga-līlā*.
4. Kṛṣṇa's fight with bull-demon.

Most of the above themes have been depicted at Maṇḍor, Osian, Kekīnd etc. On the outside portion of the main shrine (of the above Someśvara temple) too can be seen a series of legends associated with Rāma[32] and Kṛṣṇa. The latter can be enumerated as: —

1. Lifting the mount Govardhana on the left hand.
2. Fight with bull-demon.
3. A lady, with a vessel on her head, appears to be some *gopī* or milk-maid of Vraja.
4. Yaśodā seated with Kṛṣṇa in her lap. The baby is thus sucking mother's milk and Yaśodā's left hand has been placed under the head of Kṛṣṇa.
5. Kṛṣṇa eating the sweets and meals already poisoned by Kaṃsa—his treacherous maternal uncle.
6. Fight with Kaṃsa or some *malla* (wrestler) who is shown as lying flat on the ground.

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[31] Ancient *Kirāṭakūpa* or *Kirātakūṭa*. It lies about 4 miles from Khādin, a railway station on the Jodhpur-Barmer-Karachi railway line. It is about 124 miles from Jodhpur.

[32] Vide pp. 157-8 of my paper cited in footnote 29 above.

(e) *Sādaḍī* .

The ceiling of the early mediaeval Jageśvara temple (now called Bārādarī) has to play an important role in the field of ancient sacred structures depicting the Vaiṣṇava themes in a most interesting and quaint manner. In the centre of the ceiling is to be seen four handed Viṣṇu endowed with the usual attributes and seated on his *vāhana* (i.e. *garuḍa*.) On three different sides of Viṣṇu (carved in a circle here) can be seen various incarnations of Viṣṇu and also Viṣṇu lying on the coils of Śeṣa and Viṣṇu's feet being shampooed by his consort. These *avatāras* have all been depicted in a rectangular space, such rectangular panels being separated by the *cakras* on the two sides. Outside the above scenes can be seen Kṛṣṇa-*līlā* scenes carved on similar rectangular panels which are not on three sides but facing each other from opposite directions. The stories pertaining to Kṛṣṇa and Baladeva may be interpreted in the following manner:—

1. Two persons are standing and there appear two cows (one upon the other) nearby.
2. One calf is sucking its mother's milk and the baby, who is drinking the milk, appears to be Kṛṣṇa.
3. A lady is churning the curd with the help of an instrument called the *mathānī*[34] and Kṛṣṇa is to be seen nearby.
5. A baby in a lady's lap appears to be Kṛṣṇa.

The other panel on the opposite side, depicts the following scenes:—

1. A person is standing and his right hand is raised up.
2. Perhaps Kṛṣṇa, in a combat with a *malla* or demon, is trampling on the head of the other party.
3. Kṛṣṇa's fight with an elephant whose front legs are raised up. Balarāma, standing behind Kṛṣṇa, is to be recognised by his plough-share.
4. Fight with some wrestler while another person (perhaps Balarāma) is standing nearby.

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33 In Goḍavāḍa area, very near Rānpur (ancient Rāṇakapur). Kṛṣṇa-*līlā* scenes at Sādaḍī have also been described by me in my paper published in a Hindī daily paper, the *Janasattā*, Delhi, December 27, 1953, p. 8. The ceiling of the temple here has remained quite unstudied so far.

34 An Indian churning-instrument made of wood.

C. *Memorial Pillars*

My archaeological tours in the region of Jodhpur and Jaisalmer revealed an interesting fact that the sculptors of these regions were perhaps very fond of depicting *govardhanadhārī* Kṛṣṇa on square memorial pillars (*Kīrtti-stambhas*) installed near some tank or the temple. On the sides of these pillars figure prominent gods such as Sūrya, Viṣṇu etc. But on all these pillars Viṣṇu has been depicted in his *Kṛṣṇāvatārā* and that too in the *govardhanadhāri* form. This gives sufficient idea of the importance attached to Kṛṣṇa-worship in a later period too. The above memorial pillars have been examined by me at Kekīnd (outside the Jaina temple and also in the local bazar), Arnā (12 miles from Jodhpur, inside the main tank), Merta Road (in the Brāhmaṇī temple), Ludravā (near Jaisalmer) etc.

D. *Kṛṣṇa-Balarāma in the Ghosuṇḍī Epigraph*

Only a passing reference to the well known epigraph from Madhyamikā (Nagarī) has been made above. The question of the *Nārāyaṇavāṭikā* has been discussed by several scholars such as D. R. Bhandarkar (*Arch. Remains and Exc. at Nagarī*, p. 119), J. N. Banerjee (*JISOA.*, XIII, 1945, p. 55), D. C. Sircar (in his paper in *The Age of Imperial Unity*, 1951, p. 438 and *Select Inscriptions, op. cit.*, p. 92 f. n. 4), V. S. Agrawala (*Śodhapatrikā*, IV, 3, Udaipur, pp. 36-42 and *Journal of the U. P. Historical Society*, VI (2), pp. 109-10, 129), Anand Coomaraswamy (*Indian and Indonesian Art*, p. 48)......etc. In the existing inscription, Saṅkarṣaṇa, Balarāma and Kṛṣṇa Vāsudeva have been addressed together as *Bhagavat, Anahita* (unconquered) and *Sarveśvara* (Supreme-lord). The order, in which the names Saṅkarṣaṇa and Vāsudeva have been placed here, led Dr. J. N. Banerjee (*Calcutta Review*, January 1947, p. 8) to suggest that "in that context they are not two of the *vyūhas* but two of the prominent Vṛṣṇīvīras." It is of course very interesting to note that the Besnagar inscription of Heliodorus (*circa* second century B. C.) refers only to *Devadeva Vāsudeva* while our fragmentary inscription from Nagarī refers to the worship of Balarāma too. Besides this, the following remarks of V. M. Apte (in *The Age of Imperial Unity*, 1951, p. 449) are also to be noted here:—"The non-mention of Pradyumna and Aniruddha, along with Saṅkarṣaṇa and Vāsudeva, in the Ghosuṇḍī and the Nānāghāṭ inscriptions of the first century B. C. probably shows that the independent worship of the third and the fourth *vyūhas* was not quite popular outside the Vṛṣṇī circle.........Saṅkarṣaṇa (also called Baladeva, Balarāma and Rāma) was a more important figure whose independent worship spread over a wide area before the birth of Christ. In the Ghosuṇḍī inscription, he is called *Bhagvat* and *Sarveśvara* jointly with Vāsudeva."

This is in nutshell a review of some epigraphs and a few sculptures discovered in various parts of Rājasthāna. It will not be possible to do full justice to the problem until and unless the whole region of Rājasthāna has been explored and thoroughly searched from the point of view of sculptures and epigraphs concerning Kṛṣṇa and Balarāma.

RATNA CHANDRA AGRAWALA

Vaiṣṇavism

Viṣṇu is a Vedic deity. This term is used in the Ṛg Veda in the sense of "Sun-God." The Vaiṣṇavism which has been so much extolled in the *Mahābhārata* and Purāṇas owes, however, its origin to the worship of Vāsudeva. From various records it is evident that the cult of Vāsudeva was prevalent in different parts of India long before the beginning of the Christian era. R. G. Bhandarkar has shown from a passage in the *Niddesa*, which is regarded as one of the books of the Pali canon that the cult of Vāsudeva along with those of some others was prevalent in 4th century B. C.[1] Pāṇini in his Sūtra IV. 3. 98, mentions the names of Vāsudeva and Arjuna while deriving words for their worshippers (that is, worshipper of Vāsudeva is Vāsudevaka and worshipper of Arjuna is Arjunaka). Patañjali in his commentary of this Sūttra in the Mahābhāṣya says that Vāsudeva of this Sūtra means "one who is pre-eminently worshipful, i.e. God." So we find that Vāsudeva must have been an object of worship at least in the time of Pāṇini who composed the Sūtra. It may be surmised that Vāsudeva whose worship was prevalent during the time of Pāṇini, (c. 6th-4th centuries B.C.) must have been held in high esteem with reverential attitude for a long time before the advent of Pāṇini when this worship actually was already in practice. R. G. Bhandarkar[2] has shown that the "Sātvata race developed a system of religion which took up the ideas of a supreme God in Vāsudeva-Kṛṣṇa and devotion to him as the mode of salvation."

Megasthenes, the Greek ambassador in the court of the Maurya Emperor Candragupta also refers to the Sātvatas and the worship of Vāsudeva-Kṛṣṇa. Hence R. G. Bhandarkar observes thus "If the Vāsudeva-Kṛṣṇa worship prevailed in the time of the first Maurya, it must have originated long before the establishment of the Maurya dynasty, and my assertion that it owes its origin to the stream of thought which began with the Upaniṣads and culminated in the east in Buddhism and Jainism, and arose about the time of the latter, is confirmed" (page 13). So we find that the cult of Vāsudeva-Kṛṣṇa came into being long before 4th century B.C. Bhandarkar further says that the name "Vāsudeva appears to be a proper name and not a patronymic and when the Vāsudeva religion or the Bhāgavata school took its rise, that was the name by which the Supreme Deity was known. The conception of Vasudeva as his father must have arisen afterwards as appears to me from the example Vāsudeva given in the Mahābhāṣya in the sense of 'son or descendant of Vāsudeva' and not 'Vasudeva', as must be inferred from the analogous instance of Bāladeva from Baladeva. Baladeva was associated with Vāsudeva and not with Vasudeva[3]". Bhandarkar also asserts that *Kṛṣṇa*, *Janārdana* and *Keśava* are not apparently the Vṛṣṇi names and were given to Vāsudeva subsequently when his worship was widely prevalent[4]. He says that Kṛṣṇa, son of Devakī, which occurs in the Chāndogyopaniṣad (III. 17) was a pupil of Ghora Āṅgirasa. This Kṛṣṇa was probably the original founder of a Gotra called Kārṣṇāyana (meaning collection of Kṛṣṇas). This tradition gave rise to the identification of the sage Kṛṣṇa with Vāsudeva when he was raised to the rank of the supreme deity". Bhandarkar also has shown with the help of the texts and commentary of the Gāthās of the Jātakas that Vāsudeva was called Kṛṣṇa because he belonged to the Kārṣṇāyana Gotra. He further adds "Having come to be known by that name all the traditions about the learning and spiritual insight of the old Kṛṣṇa, and also of his being the son of Devakī were engrafted on him (i.e. *Vāsudeva*) and thus in the

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[1] R. G. Bhandarkar, *Vaiṣṇavism, Śaivism and Minor Religions Systems* (V.S.M.R.S.), (1928), p. 3 f.

[2] *Ibid*, p. 12.

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[3] R. G. Bhandarkar, *VSMRS*., p. 15.

[4] With the help of some quotations from the Mahābhāṣya of Patañjali—e.g. (1) प्रहारा दृश्यन्ते कंसस्य कृष्णस्य च (III, 1.26) (2) असाधु मातुले कृष्णः (II, 3.36) (3) जघान कंसं किल वासुदेवः (III, 2.3) etc. Prof. H. C. Ray Chaudhuri has shown that Vāsudeva and Kṛṣṇa were one and the same individual—the slayer of Kaṁsa. So he remarks "We agree with Keith when he says that the separation of Vāsudeva and Kṛṣṇa as two entities it is impossible to justify". He then agrees with Bhandarkar and states that "the frequency of the name Vāsudeva may be due to the fact which he has himself proved that it was the proper name while Kṛṣṇa was the Gotra name". Ray Chaudhuri—*Materials for the study of the Early History of the Vaiṣṇava Sect*. (2nd edition), pp. 36-37.

Sabbāparvan (38), Bhīṣma says that one of the two reasons for giving the highest honours to Kṛṣṇa was that he possessed the knowledge of the Vedas and dependent treatises (Vedāṅgas) and that he was also a sacrificial priest (Ṛitvij). The Hindu habit of thought of identifying one god with another by regarding the latter either as forms or incarnations of the former, and thus evolving monotheism out of polytheism, led to the identification of this Vāsudeva with other gods and with the boy Kṛṣṇa of Gokula[5]". In connection with the identification of Nārāyaṇa with Vāsudeva, Bhandarkar with the help of the Vedic and post-Vedic literature has shown that Nārāyaṇa is regarded to be the Supreme God. He says "Nārāyaṇa being thus evolved as the Supreme Being in the later Brāhmanic period was, of course, prior to Vāsudeva, and in the epic times when the worship of the latter arose, Vāsudeva was identified with Nārāyaṇa[6]. Thus it appears that when Vāsudeva established his reputation as an object of worship he was identified with the Supreme Lord Nārāyaṇa, the creator of all. As regards the identification of Vāsudeva with Viṣṇu, we find that Viṣṇu is a Vedic deity. His position among gods in the Ṛgveda is not very prominent. But gradually during later Vedic period he gained a supreme positon. "In epic times Viṣṇu grew to be in every respect the Supreme spirit, and Vāsudeva is identified with Viṣṇu. In chapters 65 and 66 of the *Bhīṣmaparvan* of the *Mahābhārata* the Supreme Spirit is addressed as Nārāyaṇa and Viṣṇu and is identified with Vāsudeva."[7] According to Bhandarkar the religion of Vāsudeva, who was given a divine honour, was at first professed by the Sātvatas and its gradual extension to other tribes and people of this country is set forth in the *Mahābhārata*. In the Purāṇic period "the cult of Vāsudeva ceased to be militant, and three streams of religious thought, namely, the one flowing from *Viṣṇu*, the Vedic god at its source, another from *Nārāyaṇa*, the cosmic and philosophic god, and the third from *Vāsudeva*, the historical god, mingled together decisively and thus formed the later Vaiṣṇavism[8]".

Thus we find that the Purāṇic Vaiṣṇavism is an amalgam of the cults of the Vedic god Viṣṇu, and Nārāyaṇa, who is said to be the source of this universe, and also the historical god Vāsudeva whose

[5] V.S.M.R.S., pp. 16-17.

[6] *Ibid.*, p. 45.

[7] *Ibid*, p. 48.

[8] *Ibid.*, p. 49.

first devotees were the Sātvatas. This Vaiṣṇavism included in it at a later period (probably at a post-Christian age) the cult of cow-herd Kṛṣṇa, who was apparently not known to Patañjali (2nd century B.C.). Bhandarkar thinks that the identification of Vāsudeva-Kṛṣṇa with Gopāla-Kṛṣṇa cannot be considered a matter of a pre-Christian period.[9] It appears that the stories of the super-human exploits of Gopāla who is credited with the killing of demons like Dhenuka etc. were widely prevalent and earned for him the rank of a god and a place of worship. And according to R. G. Bhandarkar it was at a post-Christian time that this Gopāla-Kṛṣṇa was identified with Vāsudeva-Kṛṣṇa. This process of absorption went on even at a later period and is found to embrace the cult of Śrī Caitanya in Bengal in the 16th century A.D. Śrī Caitanya has got, by this time, a status almost equal to that of Vāsudeva-Kṛṣṇa and is called Śrī Kṛṣṇa-Caitanya. In this connection it is to be remarked here that one of the seals found at Kumrāhār bearing Brāhmī script of c. 1st century B.C. contains the legend Gopālasa.[10] If this name (Gopāla) is in imitation of Gopāla-Kṛṣṇa, then it proves that the divinity of Gopāla-Kṛṣṇa must already have been long established. But if Gopāla means here *"protector of earth"* then the matter stands otherwise. But Gopāla became a popular name after the advent of Gopāla-Kṛṣṇa and after his fame and superhuman qualities were fully established. If the name Gopāla is admitted to be an imitation of Gopāla Kṛṣṇa then the latter must be placed long before 1st century B.C.

(*Suṅga Period*)

So far as the archaeological and epigraphic materials are concerned, the early evidences of the cult of Vāsudeva are supplied by the Besnagar Garuḍa pillar inscription of the Greek ambassador Heliodoros (c. 2nd century B.C.) son of Dion, and the Ghosundi stone inscription of King Sarvatāta. (c. 1st century B.C.). The Greek ambassador Heliodoros was deputed by King Antialkidas from Taxila to the court of King Bhāgabhadra at Besnagar in Gwalior State, Central India. He probably came on some diplomatic mission which he did not disclose in his inscription but he has left very important data for the religious history of our country. We learn from his record[10] that

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[9] *Ibid.*, p. 54.

[10] *Arch. Sur. Rep.*, 1912-13, p. 82 f.

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he was a Greek by nationality but embraced the Bhāgavata cult (i.e. Vaiṣṇavism) which he expressly mentions in the term *Bhāgavatena*. He was not satisfied by merely calling himself a *Bhāgavata*, but also set up a pillar in honour of Vāsudeva the god of gods with his vehicle Garuḍa at the top (*Garuḍa-dhvaja*).

Part I

1. [दे]व देवस वा[सुदे]वस गरुडध्वजे अयं
2. कारिते इ[अ] हेलिओदोरेण भाग-
3. वतेत दियस पुत्रेण तख्खसिलाकेन
4. योन-दूतेन [आ]गतेन महाराजस
5. अंतलिकितस उप[˙]ता सकासं रञो
6. [को]सीपु[त्र]स [भ]ागभद्रस त्रातारस
7. वसेन च[तु]दसेन राजेन वधमानस [॥]

Part II

1. त्रिनि अमुत पदानि [इअ] [सु] अनुठितानि
2. नेयंति [स्वगं] दम चाग अप्रमाद [॥]

[Part I. "This Garuḍa-column of Vāsudeva (Viṣṇu), the god of gods, was erected here by Heliodoros, a worshipper of Viṣṇu, the son of Dion and an inhabitant of Taxila, who came as a Greek ambassador from the great King Antialkidas to king Kautsīputra Bhāgabhadra, the saviour then reigning prosperously in the fourteenth year of his kingship].

[Part II. "Three immortal precepts (foot-steps)...when practised lead to heaven-self-restraint, charity and conscientiousness."]

The inscription thus points to the existence of a temple of god Vāsudeva in the immediate neighbourhood of the pillar in the middle of the 2nd century B.C. D. R. Bhandarkar unearthed some structural remains there, some of which, he supposes, might belong to the said temple. This temple is ascribed by D. R. Bhandarkar to c. 165 B.C.[12]

That Heliodoros was a true follower of Vaiṣṇavism is also confirmed by his statement that self-restraint (*dama*), self-sacrifice (*tyāga*),

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[11] *Ibid.*, 1908-09, p. 126; Rapson, *Ancient India*, p. 157.

[12] *Arch. Surv. Ind. An. Rep.*, 1914-15, pp. 66 f.

and alertness (*apramāda*), these three immortal precepts when well practised would lead to heaven (*svarga*). This proves that Heliodoros was well acquainted with the texts dealing with the Bhāgavata religion or the cult of Vāsudeva, e.g. the *Mahābhārata* which includes the *Bhagavad-gītā*[13]. He undoubtedly expresses the true essence of the Bhāgavata religion.

This inscription also supplies us with the information that the door of Vaiṣṇavism was open to the foreigners who were not only true votaries of the cult of their adoption but also tried to enter into the real spirit of the religion.

During the Suṅga period Vidiśā occupied, indeed, a place of utmost importance for Vaiṣṇavism. This fact is proved by another inscription of this period. It is mentioned therein that "Bhāgavata son of Gotamī caused a Garuḍa standard to be made in connection with the best temple of Bhagavat (Vāsudeva) when Mahārāja Bhāgavata had been crowned twelve years" (translation by Bhandarkar).[14] Cf. (1. Gotamī (?) putena (2) Bhāgavatena (3) ......) (4) Bhagavato prāsādota (5) masa Garuḍadhvaja kārita (6) dvādasa-vasābhisite (7) Bhāgavate mahārāje.

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[13] Cf. *Mahābhārata* :—

दमस्त्यागोऽप्रमादश्च एतेष्वमृतमाहितम् ।
तानि सत्य-मुखान्याहु र्ब्राह्मणा ये मनीषिणः ॥ ५।४३ २२
दमस्त्यागोऽथाप्रमाद इत्येतेष्वमृतं स्थितम् ।
एतानि ब्रह्ममुख्यानां ब्राह्मणानां मनीषिणाम् ॥ ५।४५।७
दमस्त्यागोऽप्रमादश्च ते त्रयो ब्रह्मणो हयाः ।
शीलरश्मि समायुक्तः स्थितो यो मानसे रथे ।
त्यक्त्वा मृत्युभयं राजन् ब्रह्मलोकं स गच्छति ॥
अभयं सर्वं भूतेभ्यो यो ददाति महीपते ।
स गच्छति परं स्थानं विष्णोः पदमनामयम् ॥ ११।७।२३-२५

Cf. also *Bhagavad Gitā* XVI 1-3.

अभयं सत्त्वसंशुद्धिर्ज्ञानयोग व्यवस्थितिः ।
दानं दमश्च यज्ञश्च स्वाध्यायस्तप आर्जवम् ॥१
अहिंसा सत्यमक्रोधस्त्यागः शान्तिरपैशुनम् ।
दया भुतेष्वलोलुप्त्वं मार्दवं ह्रीरचापलम् ॥२
तेजः क्षमा धृतिः शौचमद्रोहो नाभिमानिता ।
भवन्ति सम्पदं दैवीमभिजातस्य भारत ॥३

[14] *Arch. Sur. Ind. An. Rep.*, 1913-14, p. 190 f.

That Vidiśā or modern Besnagar was a principal centre of Vaiṣṇavism in the 2nd cen. B.C. is also evidenced from the fact that two Garuḍa standards—one carried by a female on horseback (at the entrance of the Bharhut Room, No. 4. Indian Museum Calcutta) and the other by a horse-man behind apparently a royal personage (No. 108) mounted on an elephant carrying relic casket in procession probably for depositing it in the Bharhut stūpa. The king is probably Revatīmitra who is mentioned in an inscription overhead and whose queen Cāpadevī made the gift of the first pillar there (Cf. No.108. *Vedisā Cāpadevāyā Revatimitabhāriyāya paṭhama-thabhodānaṁ*). The royal standard being a Garuḍa standard, the king who was in all probability Revatīmitra must have been a Vaiṣṇava by faith, but he himself and his family took a prominent part in establishing the Buddhist stūpa at Bharhut as indicated by the inscription and the relic casket on the elephant in front of him. This proves religious toleration on the part of the king who viewed other religions also with the same esteem as his own.

Then we find that Ghosuṁdi which is near Nagari in the Chitorgarh district of Rajputana, was also a seat of the Bhāgavata religion. King Sarvatāta, of whose territory, Ghosundi formed a part was a follower of the Bhāgavata religion although he offered the horse sacrifice (*Aśvamedha-yajña*) according to the Vedic rites as a mark of sovereignty. The purpose of king Sarvatāta's performing the Vedic *Aśvamedha* sacrifice is a political one but the religion which he actually followed in his private life is the cult of Vāsudeva. He gave vent to his personal feeling in the shape of constructing a stone enclosure for the place of worship (*Pūjā-śilā-prākāra*) at a locality called *Nārāyaṇa Vāṭaka*" and dedicating the same to gods Saṁkarṣaṇa (Baladeva) and Vāsudeva, who were lords of all. Archaeological excavations have, in fact, revealed the remains of a rectangular stone enclosure with walls nearly 10 feet high at the site of Hāthī bāḍā near Nagarī. Some scholars are of opinion that this structure is the remnant of the ancient *Pūjā-śilā-prākāra* mentioned in the inscription. Here, we notice that only two forms (or vyūhas) (Saṁakarṣaṇa and Vāsudeva) and not the four (*Saṁkarṣṇa, Vāsudeva, Pradyumna* and *Aniruddha*) have developed by this time. Moreover, Saṁkarṣaṇa has been mentioned first and evidently been given a prior position (cf. Saṁkarṣaṇa-Vāsudevābhyām). This order has been maintained in the Nanaghat cave (Bombay Presidency) inscription of Nāganikā (?) of c. 1st century B.C. (*namo Saṁkarṣaṇa-Vāsudevānam*)[15]. The superior position of Saṁkarṣaṇa gradually declined and ultimately at a later period his worship was discontinued. In this connection the following observation made by N. P. Chakravarti is well worth mentioning:— "The record (Hāthi-bāḍā inscription) is highly interesting from religious point of view besides literary and historical. It seems that in the 1st century B.C. both the brothers Saṁkarṣaṇa and Vāsudeva were still worshipped as popular deities though we know that at a later period, the worship of Saṁkarṣaṇa was discontinued and Vāsudeva alone remained the object of worship"[16].

It is to be noted in this connection that a stone image of Balarāma[17] which is now preserved in the Lucknow Provincial museum is a sure proof that his worship was prevalent in Mathura during the Suṅga period (2nd century B. C. according to V. S. Agrawala). The deity holds club (*musala*) in his right hand and plough in the left. This Brahmanical deity came from the Mathura reigion thereby proving that there must have been some Brahmanical temple in that area in the Suṅga period, so that massive images were placed there for the purpose of worship by the devotees.

So far as the numismatic evidence is concerned, the tribal coins of the Almora finds show on one of them the name Haridatta (Haridatasa)[18] in the Brāhmī characters of the 2nd century B C. The name indicates that the family to which this ruler belonged had some religious inclination towards God *Hari* (Viṣṇu). Then again a few silver coins of Mahādeva of the Audumbara family show the legend *Bhāgavata Mahādevasa* (of Mahādeva, the worshipper of Bhagavat or Viṣṇu) in the Brahmi script of about 1st century B.C. So it appears that Mahādeva himself was a worshipper of God Viṣṇu. The Audumbaras are supposed to have held their sway over the valley of the Beas or the modern districts of Kaṇgra, Gurdaspur and Hoshiarpur in the 1st century B.C.

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[15] Bühler, *Arch. Sur. West. Ind.*, V, p. 60 f.

Very few and isolated examples of Saṁkarṣaṇa or Balarāma worshipped even at a later period come to our notice at times from some ancient sites. For instance, in an inscription engraved on the pedestal of a bronze image of Balarāma discovered at Nalanda, it is recorded that the image was installed at the mart of King Devapala (Devapāla-haṭṭe). So it appears that this Brahmanical deity was worshipped at Nalanda in Devapāla's reign. *Ep. Ind.*, XXV, p. 334-5; *Arch-Sur. Ind. An. Rep.*, 1927-28.

[16] *Arch. Sur. Ind. An. Rep.*, 1934-35, under section Epigraphy (by N. P. Chakravarti), pp. 55 f.

[17] V. S. Agrawala, A short guide book to the Arch. sect. of the Prov. Mus. Lucknow (1940) Plate I, page 14.

[18] Allan, *Cat. of Coins of Anc. India*, p. LXXX. 90.

Some of the Kanauj coins contain the name *Viṣṇu deva*[19] proving that there was Vaiṣṇava influence upon the ruling family of Kanauj in the pre-Christian era. Among the Mathura coins the names Viṣṇumitra and Rāmadatta are found. This shows that Vaiṣṇavism was popular with the ruling family of Mathura in the 1st-2nd centures B.C.[20] In the local *Mitra* dynasty of Pañcāla the name Viṣṇu mitra[21] in the Brahmi script of c. 2nd century B.C. with a two-armed[22] figure of Vāsudeva-Viṣṇu on the reverse definitely proves the Vaiṣṇava influence on the rulers of that locality.

Ratan Ṭata's excavation at Pāṭaliputra in 1912-13 brought out a seal (? sealing) (No. 2) from the Kumrahar site with symbols, *saṁkha* and *cakra* (wheel) among others containing the legend "Gopālas" (seal of Gopāla) in Brahmi characters of 1st century B.C.[23] So it seems that Kṛṣṇa under the name Gopāla had a great influence and even probably used to be worshipped in Paṭāliputra and its neighbourhood in the 1st century B.C.

The famous places of Vāsudeva-worship as revealed by archaeological excavations or otherwise, belonging to this period are the following: —

(1) Vidiśā or Besnagar in Gwalior State (C. I.), where a Vaiṣṇava shrine with Garuḍa pillar erected by the Greek ambassador Heliodoros in front was standing for the offering of *pūjā* by the visitors coming from different parts of the country. Vidiśā as a Vaiṣṇava centre finds mention in other places also as noticed above.

(2) Secondly, we find that present Ghosundi in Chitorgarh, Rajputana, had a *pūjāśilā-prākāra* (stone enclosure) around the temple of gods Saṁkarṣaṇa-Vāsudeva. Such a stone enclosure 10 ft. high

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[19] *Ibid.*, §104 (p. 147).

[20] *Ibid.*, pp. CX. 124

[21] *Ibid.*, pp. CXVI, 131.

[22] Cunningham wrongly thought that the figure was four-armed.

[23] *Arch. Sur. An. Rep.*, 1912-13, pp. 82 f.

has been discovered by archaeological excavation near Nagari or Chitorgarh.

So if we take into consideration the map of India of the Suṅga period we will see that the area covered by the cult of Vāsudeva as a living religion would include parts of modern Gwalior state, Chitorgarh in Rajputana, Mathura and surrounding region in U.P., the Beas valley or the modern districts of Kangra, Gurdaspur and Hoshiarpur etc. (where the kings of the Udumbara tribe were ruling in the 1st century B.C.), Pāñcāla or parts of U.P., and parts of Bihar including Pāṭaliputra and neighbouring region. The influence of the cult was also very strongly felt in some parts of modern Bombay state including Nasik under the sovereignty of the Andhras which has already been referred to. That the Andhra kings of South India were inclined towards the cult of Lord Vāsudeva is also confirmed by the stone inscription found near the village China in the Kristna district and belonging to the regin of king Gautamiputra Yajñaśrī Sātakarṇi[24]. The inscription, according to the reading supplied by N. G. Majumdar, contains in its first line salutation to Bhagavat Vāsudeva (Sidhaṃ na[mo bha]gavato [Vāsudevasa]).

Saka-Kuṣāna Period

During the rule of Mahākṣatrapa Śoḍāsa (1st century B.C.-A.D) Mathura and its neighbourhood became the important centre of Vaiṣṇavism. Two of the seven inscriptions discovered from the Mora Well[25] (about 7 miles west of Mathura) belonging to the time of Rājūvula's son Śoḍāsa speak of the cult of Vāsudeva. One of the inscriptions records the installation of the images (*pratimā*) of the holy (divine) *Pañcavīras* of the *Vṛṣṇis* (cf. *Bhagavatām Pañcavīrāṇām pratimāḥ*) in the stone-temple (*śaila-deva-gṛhe*) by a lady named *Toṣā*.

The Pañcavīras (Five Heroes) mentioned above are taken by Lüders as (1) *Baladeva*, (2) *Akrūra*, (3) *Anādhṛṣṭi*, (4) *Sāraṇa* and (5) *Vidūratha*.

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[24] *Ep. Ind.*, I, pp. 95-96, Dr. Buhler left the portion containing the name *Vāsudeva* undeciphered.

[25] *Ep. Ind.*, XXIV, p. 194 f.

Some fragmentary male images of stone of Hindu pantheon have also been found there. Lüders is inclined to identify them with the Five Heroes or *Pañcavīras* mentioned in the inscription.

The other inscription records that "by Vasu a gateway of stone (?) and the railing were erected at the...of the great temple of Bhagavat Vāsudeva. May Bhagavat Vāsudeva being pleased, promote (the dominion or the life and strength) of *Svāmin Mahākṣatrapa Śoḍāsa*"

Cf. line 6. वसुना भगवतो वासुदे-
7. वस्य महास्थान···(शै)
8. लं तोरणं वे(दिका च प्रति)
9. ष्ठापितो प्रीतो [भग](वान् वासु)
10. देवः स्वामि(स्य) (मदाच्त्र)
11. पस्य शोडा[स](स्य)
12. संवर्तयतां[26]

From the above record it appears that a temple of Vāsudeva was, if not erected, at any rate enlarged or embellished during the reign of the Mahākṣatrapa Śoḍāsa by a person who, although being a Hindu, seems to have been a high official of the Mahākṣatrapa carrying out the work by order or at the desire of his master, because in the benediction, the benefit of the donation has been attributed to Śoḍāsa only. Hence it is needless to add here that Śoḍāsa was devoted to or at least influenced by the cult of Vāsudeva, and there were famous shrines, built of stone with beautiful stone images of the Five Heroes of the Vṛṣṇi tribe as well as that of god Vāsudeva (though no particular mention of installation of his image has been made in the inscription referred to above, but it may definitely be assumed that his image also must have been in the temple which has been termed here as "*Vāsudevasya mahāsthāna*" or great place or temple of Vāsudeva).

During the Kuṣāna period also the influence of Vaiṣṇavism was as strong in India as ever. The divine power and heroic feats of god Vāsudeva-Kṛṣṇa (or Viṣṇu) were everywhere extolled and demonstrated in sculptures and iconic representations. The rare and few specimens found at Mathura and elsewhere after the merciless destruction of the iconoclasts are sufficient to bear evidence to this statement. The figure of *Kṛṣṇa-Govardhana dhara*[27] from Mathura in mottled red sandstone preserved in the Mathura Museum belongs according to Coomaraswamy to the late Kuṣāna period or 3rd. cen. A.D. According to R. P. Chanda, the then Superintendent, Indian Museum, Calcutta another specimen of Kṛṣṇa Govardhanadhara[27a] of red sandstone was purchased from Mathura. This place has been assigned by him to Kṣatrapa-Kuṣāna period (1st-2nd centuries A.D.). We have already seen that Mathura had been a favourite place for the cult of Vāsudeva-Kṛṣṇa which had continuously been widely and popularly prevalent for a long time in the country. Had it been otherwise, such scenes would certainly not have been depicted in stone. Moreover apart from other considerations, the ruling dynasty of the time was in fact culturally conquered by the cult of Kṛṣṇa Vāsudeva. One of the most prominent kings of the Kuṣāna dynasty was named Vāsudeva. This certainly proves to what extent the Kuṣānas were influenced by the all-absorbing and proselytizing power of Vaiṣṇavism.

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[26] *Ibid.*, p. 208 f, No. 27 (VII).

At Tumain (ancient Tumbavana) in the Gwalior State there have been found evidences of an ancient building decorated with beautiful and interesting carvings representing some incidents of the life of Kṛṣṇa. An important figure supposed to be that of Balarāma belonging to the 2nd or 3rd century A.D. has also been discovered there[28]. These new discoveries confirm cur belief that that lccality of the Gwalior State came under the influence of Vaiṣṇavism in the Saka-Kuṣāna period or the early centuries of the Christian era.

The domain of Vaiṣṇavism extended definitely at least up to Bengal in the east in so far as our knowledge goes up till now. The figure of a four-armed Viṣṇu[29] in buff-coloured sandstone with all the features, characteristic of the secular art of Mathura of the Kuṣāna period, discovered from the village Hankrail of the Maldah district of North Bengal and now preserved in the Museum of the Varendra

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[27] Coomaraswamy, *HIIA.*, Pl XXIX fig. 102.

[27a] *Arch. Sur. Ind. An. Rep.*, 1921-22, p. 103. Pl. XXXVI. fig. e.

[28] *Arch. Sur. Ind. An. Rep.*, 1918-19, p. 21-22, PL. XIII(a). H, C. Ray Chaudhuri, "Early History of the Vaiṣṇava Sect." 2nd ed. p. 163.

[29] *Journal of the Department of letters*, Calcutta University. vol XXX ; Early Sculpture of Bengal, fig. 2.

Research Society of Rajshahi, is a specimen ascribed by the experts to the Kuṣāna period. So far as sculptural evidence is concerned this figure is supposed to be the earliest specimen of the cult objects of Vaiṣṇavism in Bengal. So it appears that even in the Kuṣāna age, major portion of Northern India, so to say, was under the cultural and religious influence of Vaiṣṇavism. It made an appeal to the people from the ruling power down to the common folk.

It is also to be added here that the recent excavations at the ancient site of Ahicchatra (modern Ramnagar, District Bareilly, U.P.) have unearthed some interesting terracotta figurines, which go to show that the cult of Vāsudeva was popular in this region also during the Kuṣāna period. The torso of a male figure[30] wearing Vanamālā (garland) and short necklace round the neck, armlets on the upper arms in the characteristic Kuṣāna style of a framed peacock-head" (as described by V. S. Agrawala) is an outstanding example which gives a convincing proof that Ahicchatra and its neighbouring places were highly influenced by the cult of Vāsudeva-Viṣṇu during the rule of the Kuṣānas (c. 300 A.D.).

BHAKTI CULT

(*Gupta period*)

During the Gupta period Vaiṣṇavism reached a high water mark as the cult of *bhakti* in the history of religions in India. Almost all the religions of India were greatly influenced by the cult of Vāsudeva (or *bhakti*) at that time. A study of the contemporary religions will convince one about the truth of this statement. The inscriptions, coins and seals etc. of this period are our clear guides in this matter. *Bhakti-mārga* (path of devotion) is that form of Hinduism which lays stress on the importance of *bhakti* or devotional faith as a means of salvation as opposed to *Karma-mārga* (path of ritual) and *Jñāna-mārga* (path of knowledge). The doctrine of *bhakti* is the foundation of modern *Vaiṣṇavism*.

The meaning of the term *bhakti* as given in the "*Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics*" by James Hastings (pp. 539f) is as follows:—"The word *bhakt* with the allied words *Bhagavat* and *Bhāgavata* is derived from the Sanskrit root "bhaj" meaning in this case "*to adore*". Bhakti, therefore, has the primary meaning of '*adoration*' while Bhagavat means the 'Adorable one' and *Bhāgavata* 'a worshipper of the Adorable One'. As a religious term, *bhakti* is defined as an affection fixed upon the Lord, but the word affection (*anurakti*) itself is further defined as that particular affection (*rakti*) which arises after (*anu*) a knowledge of the attributes of the Adorable One. . . . One of the attributes of the term *bhakti* appears to be lowering oneself to the object of *bhakti* or devotion". In this connection we may quote the expression "*bhaktyavanati-mātra-grāhya-mṛdu-hṛdayasya*" (of him whose soft heart was won over by means of lowering oneself on account of devotion), used in the *Allahabad inscription of Samudragupta*. So we see that *avanati* or lowering oneself before the object of love or devotion was one of the essential requisites for the fulfilment of the idea of *bhakti*.

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[30] *Ancient India*, No. 4. V. S. Agrawala "The Terra Cottas of Ahicchatra" No. 90.

Although the Gupta emperors were very tolerant and generous in their dealing with various religious sects of the time, their personal inclination was towards Vaiṣṇavism and as a matter of fact almost all of them were devoted to the cult of Vāsudeva. About religious affiliation of the first paramount king Candra Gupta I and his predecessors of this dyanasty the inscriptions are silent. But the coins[31] of Candra Gupta I show on the reverse the nimbate and seated, figure of *Lakṣmī* facing a couchant lion. She holds a fillet in her outstretched right hand and cornucopia in the left with her feet resting on lotus. According to some scholars the presence of the lion probably indicates the deity as goddess Annapūrṇā aspect of Ambikā. So it is difficult at this stage to assign any particular cult to Candra Gupta I, except the general remark that he was devoted to Lakṣmī or Ambikā.

As regards Samudra Gupta, the inscriptions, his own as well as of his successors are very vocal about various virtues of the king. The poet Hariṣeṇa, the writer of the Allahabad stone pillar inscription of Samudra Gupta, endows his patron (Samudra Gupta) with magnificent qualities. The inscription states that the Gupta king was *Garutmad-aṅka*, that is, he had Garuḍa-standard for his insignia, thereby meaning that he was a devotee of Viṣṇu. But the poet Hariṣeṇa became so much eulogistic towards his patron that he goes to the length of indirectly identifying Samudra Gupta with god Viṣṇu himself. The expression *sādhvasādhūdaya-pralaya-hetu-puruṣasyācintyasya*[32] is quite significant. The poet says here that Samudra Gupta was the person who used to promote the honest and destroy the dishonest. He was also "*acintya*" that is beyond comprehension like god Viṣṇu. Here poet probably takes his clue from a verse of the Gītā.

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[31] Allan,—Catalogue of Gupta Coins PL. III, No. 1 ff,

परित्राणाय साधूनां विनाशाय च दुष्कृताम् ।[33]
धर्मसंस्थापनार्थाय सम्भवामि युगे युगे ॥

[For the safety of the honest and for the destruction of the evil-doers, and for the establishment of dharma, I am born in different ages].

So we find here Samudra Gupta not as a follower of Viṣṇu but as Viṣṇu himself. At any rate from this record and his coins it is evident that he was attached to the cult of Viṣṇu. By the Nalanda and Gaya plates ascribed by the writers of the plates to the reign of Samudra Gupta but supposed by some scholars[34] to be spurious on palaeographic and linguistic grounds, the former being attributed to the 5th century A.D. and the latter to 6th or 7th century A.D., it is claimed that Samudra Gupta was a *parama-bhāgavata* which term is absent in his Allahabad inscription. From different epigraphic and numismatic sources it is clear that Samudra Gupta was a performer of the Vedic sacrifice called the *Aśvamedha* (cf. *Aśvamedha-parākrama* of his Aśvamedha type of coins[35] and *cirot-sannāśvamedhāhartuḥ* mentioned in reference to Samudra Gupta in the Bilsaḍ Stone Pillar inscription[36] of Kumāra Gupta I, etc.).

The Gupta kings were also devoted to goddess Lakṣmī as may be found from the issue of their coins. The presence of the lion by the side of a goddess on the coins of Candra Gupta I induces us to

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[32] Fleet, *CII.*, III. p. 8 line 25.

[33] Gītā IV. 8.

[34] For Nalanda plates see A. Ghosh, *Ep. Ind.*, XXV, p 52f,; and D.C. Sircar, *ibid*, XXVI; for Gaya plates see Fleet, *Corp. Ins.*, Ind. III. p. 256f.

[35] Allan, *Cat. Gupta coins*, p. 21f. PL. V. 9. f.

[36] Fleet, *CII.*, III. p. 43f.

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suppose, as we have already noticed, that he was a devotee of the Annapūrṇā aspect of Ambikā.

During Samudra Gupta's time, it is definitely clear, that some of the important Purāṇas became very popular and consequently influenced the people in their intellectual, cultural and religious life. There is the reference to the quarrel between *Sat kāvya* and *Śrī* in other words *Sarasvatī* and *Lakṣmī*; secondly we find that king Samudra Gupta has been compared with the four *dik-pālas* (masters of four quarters), *Dhanada* (Kubera) (Lord of North), *Varuṇa* (Lord of West), *Indra* (Lord of East) and *Antaka or Yama* (Lord of South). These ideas as to their being masters of various quarters are found fully developed in the Purāṇas, although most of these gods are found in the Vedas.

Another very interesting Purāṇic reference is found in the mythological story of *Gaṅgā* being detained by *Śiva* in his matted hair and her subsequent release (or descent) from there and purifying the three worlds at the request of Bhagīratha. From a careful study of the Allahabad inscription of Samudra Gupta and other records of this king and his successors one would feel that most of the Purāṇas were accepted as authoritative works and the legends mentioned therein were taken also as authoritative and only a slight reference to the Purāṇic gods and demi-gods in these records certainly prove that the Purāṇas were very popular among the masses who could easily follow the allusion from this slender hint. The sanctity of the water of the Ganges and its purifying character is also mentioned in the inscription.

As regards the successors of Samudra Gupta, it may be mentioned that his son Candra Gupta II was a devout worshipper of God Vāsudeva. He is called *Paramabhāgavata* in his coins (cf. *Paramabhāgavata* mahārājādhiraja Śrī Candra Gupta Vikramādityaḥ)[37], as also in the inscriptions[38] (Bilsaḍ inscription of Kumara Gupta, and Bihar stone pillar-and Bhitari stone pillar inscriptions of Skanda Gupta) of his son Kumara Gupta and grandson Skanda Gupta. The coins contain on the reverse the figure of Garuḍa with outspread wings, the vehicle of god Viṣṇu. If the identification of Candra of Meherauli Iron pillar inscription with Candra Gupta II as supposed by D. C. Sircar[39] is accepted then there is the additional ground in this that Candra Gupta II out of regard for Viṣṇu erected a *dhvaja* or pillar in his honour on the Viṣṇupada hill (near Delhi):

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[37] Allan, *Cat. Gupta Coins*, p. 49f. Pl. X. 14-20, cf. also PL. IX. 14-17, and X. 1-13.

[38] Fleet, *CII.*, III p. 43 f; p. 49f, and 53 f.

> प्राप्तेन स्वभुजार्जितञ्च सुचिरञ्चैकाधिराज्यं क्षितौ
> चन्द्राह्वेन समग्र चन्द्र-[स]दृशीं वक्त्रश्रियं विभ्रता ।
> तेनायं प्रणिधाय भूमि-पतिना भावेन विष्णौ मतिं
> प्रांशुर्विष्णुपदे गिरौ भगवतो विष्णोर्ध्वजः स्थापितः ॥ ३
>
> (Fleet, *CII*. III, p. 141)

As regards the spread of Vaiṣṇavism among other peoples except the royal household, we learn from the Udayagiri cave inscriptions[40] of the time of Candra Gupta II (G.E. 82 = 401-2 A.D.) that Mahārāja Chagalaga was the grandfather and Viṣṇudāsa, the father of the king of the *Sanakānikas*, the donor of the charter under discussion. The name *Chagalaga* appears to be a peculiar non-Sanskritic term. But his son takes up a Sanskritic Vaiṣṇavite name, *Viṣṇudāsa*. Does it mean that the *Sanakānikas* were of foreign origin like the Sakas and others, and adopted Purāṇic Hinduism (*Vaiṣṇavism*) after being Indianised?

Candra Gupta II's son Kumāra Gupta (c. 414-55 A.D.) was also a devotee of god Vāsudeva. A few types of his coins bear the Garuḍa standard and confirm this assertion. Moreover some of his silver coins bear the legend "*parama-bhāgavata-mahārājādhirāja-Śrī-Kumāra-Gupta-Mahendrādityaḥ*" proving thereby that he was really devoted to Vaiṣṇavism like his father.

The Dhanaidaha (Dt. Rajshahi, Bengal) inscription of the time of Kumāra Gupta[41] (G.E. 113 = 432-33 A.D.) gives some names viz —Viṣṇubhadra, Rāmaka and Gopāla; and the Karamdanga liṅga inscription[42] (of G.E. 117 = 436-37A.D.), mentions Viṣṇupālita Bhaṭṭa. These seem to be difinitely influenced by Vaiṣṇavism.

As regards the conception about, and ornaments of, the god Viṣṇu, we get a very feeble ray of light on this point in the Mandasore inscription of Kumāra Gupta and Bandhuvarman[43]. God

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[39] *JRASB*., vol. V No. 13 (1939).

[40] Fleet, *CII*., III p. 25,

[41] Ep. Ind. *XVII*. p. 347 f.

[42] *Ibid*, X. p. 71 f.

[43] Fleet, *CII*. III. p. 81 f.

Śārṅgin or Viṣṇu is described there as wearing the jewel Kaustubha on his breast (cf. *śaśineva nabho vimalaṁ kaustubha-maṇineva śārṅgino vakṣaḥ*. verse 42) and garland of full bloomed lotuses on his shoulders (cf. *vikaca-kamala-mālāmaṁsa-saktāṁ ca Śārṅgī* verse 43).

So far as Skanda Gupta (455-67 A.D.) is concerned, his coins[44] speak out that he was a devout *Vaiṣṇava* by faith (cf. *Parama-bhāgavata-Śrī-Vikramāditya-Skanda Gupta(ḥ)*). His inscriptions also give elaborate details about his religious career. In his Junagarh Rock inscription we find that the record begins with a verse devoted to the eulogy of god Viṣṇu. The verse mentions the victory of the ever-conquering Viṣṇu—who took away Śrī (or prosperity) who was enjoyable at will, from Bali for a long time for the happiness of the Lord of gods (Indra),—Viṣṇu who is the permanent abode of lotus-residing Lakṣmī, and conqueror of distress.

"श्रियमभिमतभोग्यां नैककालापनीतां[45]
त्रिदशपतिसुखार्थं यो बलेराजहार ।
कमलनिलयनायाः शाश्वतं धाम लक्ष्म्याः
स जयति विजितार्तिर्विष्णुरत्यन्तजिष्णुः ॥"

Skanda Gupta was not a silent Vaiṣṇava himself; he also propagated the cause of Vaiṣṇavism through some of this high officials who embraced Vaiṣṇavism and constructed temples and set up images of Viṣṇu in these temples. For instance, we may cite the second part of the Junagarh inscription wherein it is stated that Cakrapālita (who was the son of Parṇadatta, Governor of Surāṣṭra and was a high official in that state during the reign of Skanda Gupta) built a temple of god Viṣṇu under the name *Cakrabhṛt* (wielder of discus).

कारितमवक्रमतिना चक्रभृतः चक्रपालितेन गृहं (म्)[46]
वर्षशतेऽष्टात्रिंशे गुप्तानां काल-(क्रम गणिते) ॥ 45

That Cakrapālita was a devout Vaiṣṇava, is manifest from the expression that his life was dedicated to the feet of Govinda.

Cf तस्यात्मजेनात्म-गुणान्वितेन[46]
गोविन्दपादार्पितजीवितेन ।

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[44] Allan, *Cat.* Gupta Coins. PL. XX. 13-20.

[45] Fleet, *CII.*, III, pp. 58-59.

[46] *Ibid* p. 61.

As regards the description of the temple, we are informed by the inscription itself that it occupied a prominent position on the mount *Urjayat*, (modern Girnar) and shone on the top of the city as if to lord over it.

सार्थमुत्थितमिवोर्जयतो(ऽ)चलस्य
कुर्वत्प्रतुत्वमिव भाति पुरस्य मूर्ध्नि[47] ॥ 46

"Being erected (it) shines forth on the top of the city displaying, as it were, the lordship of the mountain Urjayat."

We are told that the temple took a long time and cost a huge sum for its construction. Consequently it will not be too much to suppose that the temple was of a stupendous size and drew the attention of the people, by its size and magnificence. Moreover, this record has given us incidentally an opportunity to have an estimate of the character of Cakrapālita as a Vaiṣṇava. He is called *avakramati* (not of crooked mind), that is, he was simple in his behaviour. He was also "devoted to the feet of Govinda" as we have already found in another place of the inscription. He is further mentioned to have "attained the lotus feet of Viṣṇu (cf. *Viṣṇos ca pādakamale samavāpya tatra* verse 43). That is by his thought, behaviour and action he was a Vaiṣṇava in the true sense of the term.

The different names used for the god are *Viṣṇu*, *Govinda* and *Cakrabhṛt*. That like Candra Gupta II, his son and grandson Kumāra Gupta and Skanda Gupta respectively were devout Vaiṣṇavas, is proved also by the Bhitari stone pillar inscription (Ghazipur district of U.P.) of Skanda Gupta. Candra Gupta II[48] and Kumāra Gupta I are clearly mentioned there as "*Paramabhāgavata*" (great devotees of Bhagavat or Viṣṇu). In the case of Skanda Gupta we are told there that he thought within himself that some sort of image should be made and installed. So he made an image of Viṣṇu and installed it under the name *Śārṅgin* to last as long as the moon and the stars last. He also made a gift of a village for the maintenance of the deity for the increase of the religious merit of his father.

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[47] *Ibid.*, p. 61.

[48] Candra Gupta II has been called "Paramabhāgavata also in the Bhitari seal of Kumāra Gupta II or III (?) *JASB.*, LVIII pt. I, p. 89, *Ind.*, *Ant.* 1890, p. 225.

[कर्तव्या] प्रतिमा काचित्प्रतिमां तस्य शार्ङ्गिणः[49] ।
[सु]प्रतीत श्चकारेमां य[ावदाचन्द्र.तारकम्] ॥
इह चैनं प्रतिष्ठाप्य सप्रतिष्ठितशासनः ।
ग्राममेनं स विद[धे] पितुः पुण्याभिवृद्धये ॥
अतो भगवतो मूर्त्तिरियं यश्चात्र संस्थितः ।
उभयं निर्द्दिदेशासौ पितुः पुण्याय पुण्य-धीरिति ॥ (Verses 10-12)

Transl.:—"Saying to himself that) an image of some kind or other [should be made], he, the very celebrated one, made this image of that (famous) (god) Śārṅgin, [to endure as long as the moon and stars may last]. And, having here installed this (god) [or having here set up this (pillar)], he, whose commands are well-established, has allotted this village (to the idol), in order to increase the religious merit of (his) father. Accordingly, this image of the Divine one, and (this village) which has been here agreed to [or and (this column) which stands here] both of these, he, the pious-minded one, has assigned for (the increase of) the religious merit of (his) father."

So it is apparent that he installed an image of Viṣṇu in the village in which the stone column stands and built a temple for the deity and made over the village to the image for its maintenance.

Thereafter during the reign of king Budha Gupta (C. 476-95 A.D.) from the Eran stone Pillar inscription[50] of the G.E. 165 (484-85 A.D.) (Saugar District C.P.) we learn that a feudatory chief, Mahārāja Suraśmi Candra was governing the country lying between the river Kālindī (or Jumna) and the Narbadā. Under him Mahārāja Mātṛviṣṇu was a subordinate ruler. This Mahārāja Mātṛviṣṇu and his brother Dhanyaviṣhu erected a flag-staff or column called the *dhvajastambha* of god Viṣṇu who was mentioned under the name of *Janārdana* in the Gupta year 165 (484-85 A.D.) It is a perfect *Vaiṣṇava* inscription. Its first verse describes the victory of Viṣṇu who is stated here as *four-armed* (*caturbbhuja*), whose couch is the broad waters of the four oceans, who is the cause of the continuance, production and destruction etc. of the universe and whose ensign is Garuḍa.

जयति विभुश्चतुर्भुजश्चतुरर्णव-विपुल-सलिल-पर्य्यङ्कः[50] ।
जगतः स्थित्युत्पत्ति-न्य[यादि]-हेतुर्ग्गरुड-केतुः ॥

KUNJA GOVINDA GOSWAMI

(To be continued)

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[49] Fleet, *CII.*, III. p. 54.

[50] *Ibid* p. 89.

MISCELLANY

The Purāṇas on the Imperial Guptas

The *Purāṇas* define the extent of the Gupta empire as follows: —

Anu-Gaṅgā-Prayāgañ ca Sāketaṁ Magadhāṁs tathā
Etān janapadān sarvān bhokṣyante Guptavaṁśajāḥ

"Kings born of the Gupta family will enjoy all these territories, *viz.*, Prayāga (Allahabad) on the Ganges, Sāketa (Oudh), and Magadha (South Bihar). [1]"

Pargiter, Allan and many other scholars regard this as good evidence for the political condition of India in c.330 A.D. Opposed to this is the view of D. C. Ganguly and R. C. Majumdar,[2] according to whom there are discrepancies in the statements of the three principal *Purāṇas*, the *Vāyu*, the *Viṣṇu* and the *Bhāgavata*. The *Vāyu* includes Prayāga, Sāketa and Magadha in the Gupta Kingdom. But the corresponding prose passage in the *Viṣṇu*, *Anu-Gaṅgā Prayāgaṁ Māgadhā Guptāś ca bhokṣyanti*, is believed to state that the territory along the Ganges up to Prayāga will be enjoyed by the people of Magadha and the Guptas.[3] A variant reading from the same *Purāṇa* excludes Sāketa,[4] considerably modifying thereby the extent of the Gupta empire; and if we accept their interpretation, the *Bhāgavata* goes even so far as to put the Gupta kingdom between Ḥaridvār and Prayāga. Majumdar and Ganguly are not also sure whether the right reading in the verse quoted above is *Guptavaṁśajāḥ*, because some *Purāṇa* texts have instead *Gupta*, *Guhya*, *Sapta*, and *Maṇidhānyajāḥ*.

This general unreliability of the Purāṇic testimony is proved, says Dr. Ganguly, also by its disagreement with Samudragupta's Allahabad inscription. The *Purāṇas* put Kosala, Andhra, Tāmralipta, Puṇḍra and Campā in the kingdom of Devarakṣitas, and Kaliṅga in that of Guha. According to Samudragupta's inscription, on the other hand, Kosala, Andhra and Campā were divided into a number of independent states.

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[1] This is how Dr. H. C. Raychaudhury translates it. *Anu-Gaṅgaṁ*, however, can be translated also as "along the Ganges".

[2] See Dr. D. C. Ganguly's paper, "The Purāṇas on the Imperial Guptas", *IHQ.*, XXI, pp. 141-143 and "*A New History of Indian People*". Vol. VI. pp. 134-135.

[3] See Dr. Majumdar in *A New History of the Indian People*, Vol. VI. p. 134.

[4] The reading noted by Dr. D. C. Ganguly, *IHQ.*, XXI, p. 141.

I have not found it possible to agree with Dr. Majumdar and Dr. Ganguly, because the discrepancy in the Purāṇic statements is more apparent than real. Partly it is, I think, due even to misinterpretation. In the case of the *Bhāgavata*, for instance, the right reading of which, *Anu-Gaṅgaṁ ā-Prayāgam Guptā bhokṣyanti medinīṁ*, can easily be reconstructed on the basis of the *MSS* material listed by Pargiter. Dr. Ganguly need not have followed the 14th century commentator, Śrīdharasvāmī, who had not the least idea that the passage in question referred to the Gupta Emperors and who consequently misread as well as misconstrued it by turning *Guptā (ḥ)* into *guptam* (supposed by him to mean pālitam or protected) and interpreted *anu-Gaṅgaṁ* as *Gaṅgādvāram ārabhya*, i.e. "beginning with Gaṅgadvāra or Haridvāra".[5] I say so specially because from Dr. Ganguly's own note on "The Purāṇas on the Imperial Guptas", it is obvious that he knew well enough that the passage referred to the Guptas and the word "*anu-Gaṅgā*" had the sense of "along the Ganges" in the *Vāyu* as well as in the *Viṣṇu*.[6] Or, are we to presume that the word has one meaning in these *Purāṇas* and another in the *Bhāgavata*, though used in the same context.

As regards the *Viṣṇu Purāṇa*, the three Dacca *MSS* consulted by Dr. Ganguly read *Anu-Gaṅgaṁ Prayāgañ ca Māgadhā Guptāś ca Magadhān byokṣyanti*. And this, we might note, is also the reading of the oldest manuscript of the *Viṣṇu* consulted by Pargiter. This differs indeed from the *Vāyu* version in leaving out Sāketa; but the omission is not after all very serious, for a great eastern power whose dominions included Magadha and extended westwards up to Prayāga might have ruled also over Sāketa. Gupta power was not most probably confined to a narrow corridor running along the Ganges; it must have included also big slices of territory to the north and south of it.

4a Dr. Ganguly somehow thinks that he refers to the Guptas. I, however, think otherwise because of his translating *guptam* as *pālitam*.

[5] See *IHQ.*, XXI, p. 141-142.

[6] *Ibid.*

Dr. Majumdar's reading from the *Viṣṇu*, "*anu-Gaṅgā Prayāgam Māgadhā Guptāś ca bhokṣyanti*" lacks an object and obviously is due to someone having inadvertently dropped the word *Magadhān*. It was so easy to do so on account of the extreme closeness of the words *Māgadhā* and *Magadhān* in the sentence. Further, even if we regard Dr. Majumdar's reading as right, we need not say that the "people of Magadha and Guptas ruled (conjointly as it were) along the banks of the Ganges "up to Prayāga," the use of the word *Māgadha* with the *Gupta* here being merely to indicate the fact that these Guptas either ruled over or belonged to Magadha. Had the word, *Māgadha*, been used as a substantive, as tacitly assumed by Dr. Majumdar, and not as a word qualifying *Gupta*, the particle *ca* would most probably have been repeated twice, this being the general rule in prose though not in poetry, and the passage from the *Viṣṇu* might have read.

"*Anu-Gaṅgā Prayāgam Māgadhāś ca Guptāś ca bhokṣyanti*".

The argument based on the variant readings of the word, Gupta, need not detain us long. Not only does the reading, Gupta, predominate, it is also the only one that is reasonable, for which other word could have changed itself into *Gupa* as well *Guhya*, *Sapta* as well as *guptam* and *Gopta*.

The contradiction between Samudragupta's Allahabād Pillar inscription and the Purāṇas would certainly be a valid argument against the authoritativeness of the latter. But there is no contradiction actually between the two sets of evidence, Purāṇic and epigraphic. The difficulty here, as elsewhere, has been created by our misunderstanding of the Purāṇic data. As pointed out by me in the November, 1949, issue of the *Journal of the Ganganatha Jha Research Institute*, the names Devarakṣita, Mahendra and Guha refer not to three dynasties ruling contemporaneously with the Guptas but to the Gupta rulers, Devagupta or Candragupta II, Mahendrāditya Kumāragupta and Skandagupta. The pertinent lines from the *Viṣṇu MSS* read as follows :—[7]

1. *Anu-Gaṅgām Prayāgaṁ ca Māgadhā Guptāś ca Magadhān bhokṣyanti.*

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[7] *IHQ.*, XXI, p. 141.

2. *Kosal-Oḍra-Tāmraliptān samudrataṭa-purīṁ ca Devarakṣito rakṣiṣyati.*
3. *Kaliṅgam Māhiṣakam Mahendrah.*
4. *Bhaumān Guham bhokṣyanti.*

The first three lines may be translated thus:

"The Guptas of Magadha would rule over Magadha and along the Ganges up to Prayāga. Devarakṣita would extend his protection to Kośala, Oḍra, Tāmralipta and Purī on the sea-board. Kaliṅga and Māhisaka would be subject to Mahendra"

The reading of the fourth line from the *Viṣṇu* is extremely corrupt. But its intended meaning can be had from the parallel reading of the *Vāyu*,

"*etān janapadān sarvān pālayiṣyati vai Guhaḥ*"

"i.e. Guha would protect all these territories."

Is it not a matter of some surprise that historians have not so far paid any attention to the continuous line of succession presented by the names Devarakṣita, Mahendra and Guha? Devarakṣita *is none else but Devagupta or Candragupta II*, *rakṣita* being used here as a substitute for the more usual *gupta*. Mahendra is well known as a title of Kumāragupta I, or rather as one of his names. It is easy also to see his son and successor, Skandagupta, as Guha of the *Purāṇas*.

Samudragupta followed two different policies towards his contemporary rulers. He forcibly extirpated the rulers of Āryāvarta. But he captured, released and reinstated the rulers of Dakṣiṇāpatha, deeming it perhaps the best policy possible under the circumstances. Devaraṣkita's, *i.e.*, Candragupta II's policy was an extension of it. Not satisfied with his patrimony, he added to it the adjoining territories of Kosala, Oḍra, Puṇḍra, Tāmralipta and Purī on the sea-coast, i.e. Jagannātha-Purī. According to Dr. Benoycandra Sen, who seems to have been impressed by the imperial record of the so-called Devaraṣitas, Candra of the Mehrauli Pillar inscription was probably a Devarakṣita[8]. *I should go further and assert that he was actually Devarakṣita or Candragupta II*. The victories of both had reached the southern seas. Both had secured victories in Bengal.

The next round of expansion followed in the reign of Mahendra whom we have identified with Kumāragupta I, the performer of

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8 *Some Historical Aspects of the Inscriptions of Bengal*, pp. 205-207.

aśvamedhas. Kaliṅga and Māhiṣaka, which lay next to the territories rendered tributary by Devarakṣita, were added to the empire in Mahendra's reign, a fact, which though not generally recognised, appears to be indicated by the find of the Satārā hoard of Kumāragupta's coins.

During the reign of Skandagupta there was no further expansion of the empire. It was achievement enough to keep it intact. Hence the Purāṇas are right in stating.

> "*etān janapadān sarvān pālayiṣyati vai Guhaḥ*"

i.e. Guha or Skandagupta would rule over all these territories, the original ones in *Madhyadeśa* as well as those added to the empire by Devarakṣita Candragupta II and Mahendra Kumāragupta I[9]. It may be that this account of the Gupta conquests is not complete. Slight inaccuracies too might have crept in here and there. But even as it is, it deserves to be studied thoroughly and we have to think out again the problem of the identity of the so called Devarakṣitas, Mahendras and Guhas. This is a tentative solution. We have a right to reject Purāṇic testimony, but it should be done only when it conflicts with something better, say, contemporary, epigraphic, numismatic or literary sources of history.*

DASHARATHA SHARMA

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[9] Special attention is invited to the expression, *etān janapadān sarvan*. Can any other Guha or Guha dynasty be pointed out who or which ruled over all the *janapadas* of Northern and Eastern India mentioned in the *Purāṇic* passage quoted above?

* A paper read at the Gwalior Session of the Indian History Congress.

The author of the Rāmābhyudaya—his date and identity

The celebrated rhetorician Ānandavardhana of Kashmir refers to a drama called *Rāmābhyudaya* in his immortal treatise on the theory of dhvani[1]. The drama suffers from the same fate of Viśākhadatta's more well known epilogue on the ill fortunes of a Gupta prince. According to the rhetorician its author was one Yaśovarman. The early mediaeval India is aware of a number of distinguished personages of the same name, and the authorship of the drama centring round the activities of the scion of the Raghu family has often been attributed to one or the other of them.

The exact period, counted by years of the Christian era, in which Ānandavardhana flourished is not known. But Kalhaṇa admits that he obtained fame during the reign of Avantivarman (855/56-883 A.D.).[2] He might have outlived the first Utpalite and could very well be a contemporary of his son, Śaṁkaravarman (883-902 A.D.). The latter half of the ninth century thus may be the approximate age in which he might have lived.

The claim of the Yaśovarmans who were posterior in date to Ānandavardhana need not be considered.[3] Of the others who were of earlier date, mention may be made of Yaśovarman, king of Kanauj, and probably also of the Nālandā inscription and Yaśovarman mentioned in the *Rājatarangiṇī*, who, according to Kalhaṇa, fished in the troubled waters of Kāśmīrian politics during the last days of the Karkoṭa rule. Yaśovarman, a poet, some of whose verses are preserved in the *Kavīndravacanasamuccaya* and in the *Subhāṣitāvalī* is another strong claimant. The case of each of them for the authorship of the *Rāmābhyudaya* may be considered one by one.

Yaśovarman of Kanauj, the hero of Gauḍavāho and a patron of such well known poets as Kavi Vākpati-rāja and Śrī Bhavabhūti has been suggested by some scholars as the author of the *Rāmābhyudaya*.[4] The great advantage of this suggestion is that it can be neither proved nor disproved. But merely the patronage awarded to poets does not necessarily mean that the patron himself was also a poet. The Gauḍavāho has nothing to show that the hero eulogised in it was a poet. Kalhaṇa gives a fairly detailed account of the great antagonist of the Kāśmīrian king. He refers to various minute events of his life and mentions the poets who flourished in his court.[5] But he does not appear to have known that the king himself was the author of a celebrated drama, otherwise he would have most probably spoken of it. Whether Yaśovarman, king of Kanauj and the king of the same name referred to in an inscription found at Nālandā[6] are identical or not, it is to be noted that Mālāda's description of his sovereign has nothing to show of his devotion to the Muses.

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[1] *Dhvanyāloka*(ed. N. S. P.), Bombay, 1911, pp. 138, 148.

[2] *Rājataraṅgiṇī*, V, 54.

[3] These were for example, Candella Yaśovarman (c. A. D. 925), Yaśovarman of Kalvan plates, feudatory to Paramāra Bhoja (11th. cent. A. D.), Guhila Yaśovarman *alias* Kīrtivarman (11th cent. A. D.) and Paramāra king Yaśovarman (c. 1135 A.D.).

[4] R. S. Tripathi, *History of Kanauj*.

During the rule of the weak (later) Karkoṭas following the death of Jayāpīḍa, the king was merely a puppet in the hands of the more powerful ministers, whose discord and mutual jealousy Kalhaṇa speaks of.[7] In one conflict which ensued between the leaders of two rival ministerial groups headed by Mamma and Utpala, one Yaśovarman, son of the former is said to have taken away in the battlefield "the lustre of heroes as that of the stars by the Sun."[8] In the pages of Kalhaṇa there is not the slightest indication which can give this little known warrior the credit of composing a drama. In fact, merely an adventurer as he was and had a premature death one would hardly expect him to hold the sword and the pen alike and compose such a drama which would receive attention from no less a rhetorician than Ānandavardhana.

The identity of Yaśovarman whose verses have been quoted in two of the celebrated anthologies[9] with the author of *Rāmābhyudaya* appears to be more likely than the other ones. It would be natural for a verse-maker to attempt a drama. His date is not known. But anthologies do mention poets of comparatively earlier periods and there is nothing improbable of his being a contemporary or anterior to the author of *Dhvanyāloka*.

Perhaps we can throw a little more light on this rather obscure dramatist than making an attempt to identify him with an equally obscure poet of an unknown date. In an article entitled "The identity of the Yaśovarman of some mediaeval coins" published sometime back in the Journal of the Asiatic Society[10] I have tried to show with the help of an unpublished Sanskrit text Āgamaḍambara that Yaśovarman was but another name of the Kāśmīrian king Śaṁkaravarman. The writer of the drama, Jayanta Bhaṭṭa, was a contemporary of the prince and the authenticity of his evidence can hardly be doubted. If Yaśovarman was the other name of Śaṁkaravarman and if he was a contemporary of Ānandavardhana, it seems to be quite natural for the latter to refer to a contemporaneous literary work of consummate art. Śaṁkaravarman was known by his other name to one of his contemporaries, Bhaṭṭa Jayanta. Probably the name also survives monetary issues of the time.[11] And it will not be out of the way if Ānandavardhana too, being another contemporary, quotes the same name which perhaps was a more popular designation of the monarch in his days.

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[5] *R. T.*, IV, 133-145.

[6] *Ep. Ind.*, XX, pp. 37ff.

[7] *R. T.*, IV, 679-715.

[8] *R. T.*, IV, 705.

[9] *Kavīndravacanasamuccaya* (ed. Thomas), pp. 75, 76; *Subhāṣitāvalī* (ed. Peterson), 1364.

About some of the Kāśmīrian kings possessing poetic qualities we have clear evidence in the anthologies. The *Kavīndravacanasamuccaya* and the *Subhāṣitāvalī* preserve verses written by Gonanda, Gopāditya, Raṇāditya, Muktāpīḍa and Jayāpīḍa—kings so well known from the Chronicle whereas Śaṁkaravarman's compositions are probably preserved there under his alias.

It is interesting to note that from the middle of the eighth century Rāma story became a very popular theme for a number of dramas. Bhavabhūti's *Uttararāmacarita* was followed by Abhinanda's *Rāmacarita* and the latter by a more sophisticated one from the pen of Sandhyākaranandin. One would also like to place the *Rāmābhyudaya* sometime at this period, the upper limit being fortunately determined by the date of Ānandavardhana. And it is in this period that Śaṁkaravarman lived, the only historical personage with the name of Yaśovarman who can have any reasonable claim of having composed a drama*.

Sunil Chandra Ray

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[10] *Journal of the Asiatic Society*, Letters, Vol. XVII, No. 3, 1951, pp. 251-253; also Kavi M. Ramkrishna, Bhaṭṭa Jayanta and Yaśovarman of Kāśmīra, *Ācārya Puṣpāñjali Volume*, Calcutta, 1940.

[11] *JAS.*, Letters, Vol, XVII, No. 3. 1951, pp. 251-253.

[12] *Kavīndravacanasamuccaya*, 16; *Subhāṣitāvali*, 585, 648, 654, 655, 661, 2110, 3076.

* Paper presented in the Waltair Session of the Indian History Congress.

Date of the Imādpur Image Inscriptions of Mahipāla I

Dr. R. C. Majumdar has laid the students of the history of Eastern India under a debt of gratitude by publishing facsimiles of the two Imādpur (Muzaffarpur District, Bihār) image inscriptions of the time of king Mahīpāla I (circa 988-1038 A D.) of Bengal and Bihār along with a note in the *Journal of the Asiatic Society*, Letters, Vol. XVI, pp. 247 ff. Hoernle quoted the date of both the inscriptions as the year 48 of the Pāla king's reign[1] and this reading has been recently endorsed by Dr. C. C. Das Gupta.[2] Dr. Majumdar is inclined to read the date as the year 148 which he refers to the Newārī or Nepāl era of 879-80 A. D. Thus, according to Dr. Majumdar, the date of the Imādpur inscriptions is equivalent to 1028 A.D.

As regards the reading of the date portion, Dr. Majumdar says, "The three letters before the figure 48 were read by Hoernle as *samatt*[3] and Dr. Das Gupta as *samatta*. But the last of these three letters...cannot be read...as *tt*... It is quite unlike any letter of the period of Mahīpāla so far known to us but closely resembles the figure (sic. symbol) for hundred given in Bühler's chart, Plate IX, Col. IX, the only difference being that the wedge-like sign instead of being attached to the top is placed at the bottom such as we find also in the Nepāl MSS (Bühler's chart, Cols. XXI, XXVI). I would therefore read the date as 148.".

We propose to examine Dr. Majumdar's views in the following lines.

In the first place, the *akṣara* looks quite clearly like *nta* and Dr. Majumdar himself admits it when he says in a footnote, "It no doubt looks like *n* with either an *u-mātrā* or *t* joined with it," although he concludes, "Even if we read it as *nta* or *nu* it gives no sense... *Samanta* followed by 48 is meaningless," We however find it difficult to agree with this view.

Before discussing the almost certain implication of *samanta* placed before a number, it has to be pointed out that the same word can also be read as *samatta* as in the Pāla inscriptions the letter *tta* was often written as *nta*. While discussing the palaeography of the Bangāon (Bhāgalpur District, Bihār) plate of Vigrahapāla III (circa 1050-76 A.D.), grandson of Mahīpāla I, we have elsewhere observed, "The superscripts of the conjuncts *tt* and *nt* are often undistinguishable (°*āvarttāt* in line 25, *kīrttitān* in line 30, *paryanta* in line 32, etc.)."[4]

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[1] *Ind, Ant.*, vol. XIV, p. 165, note 17.

[2] *Proc. IHC.*, Bombay, 1947, pp. 245 ff.

[3] This seems to be really a misprint for *samatta.*

In our opinion, the word *samatta* or *samanta* in the Imādpur inscriptions stands for *saṁvat*. We know that *saṁ*, *saṁva*, *saṁvat* (sometimes spelt *samvat* or *sambat*), *samvaccha*, etc., were used as contractions of the expression *saṁvatsare*.[5] When *saṁvat* gradually came to be stereotyped in the sense of a reckoning, the word was often used with case-endings, e.g., *saṁvataḥ*, *saṁvatā*, *saṁvati*, and *saṁvatām*.[6] But, in many inscriptions, the word *saṁvat* is found in various corrupted forms such as *saṁmvat*, *samvata*, *samvatu*, *samvatū*, *saṁmat*, *samat*, *samta*, etc.[7] In the medieval inscriptions of the Orissa region, *saṁvat* is almost always written as *samasta*,[8] while the Siddheswar inscription of Gaṅga Narasiṁha IV has it as *samaṁthu*.[9] Some epigraphs like the newly discovered Sanokhār (Bhāgalpur District, Bihār) inscription of Ballālasena (circa 1158-79 A.D.) and a Purī temple inscription of Anaṅgabhīma III (1211-38 A.D.) have *samata* for *saṁvat* while another Purī temple inscription of the said Gaṅga king spells the word as *śamvatta*. These three inscriptions are being published in the *Epigraphia Indica*. The instances cited above leave hardly any doubt that *samatta* or *samanta* in the Imādpur inscriptions is a corrupt variant of *saṁvat*.

Secondly, the *akṣara* has no appreciable resemblance with the symbol for 100 in Bühler's table, referred to by Dr. Majumdar. Bühler actually represents a variant of the looped *sa* type symbol indicating 100 as found in the Gupta inscriptions and the symbol in question does not appear to have been traced in records much later than the sixth century A.D. To find any resemblance between this early numerical symbol and the *akṣara* looking like *nta* or *tta* in an inscription of the eleventh century cannot but be regarded as fanciful.

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[4] *Ep. Ind.*, vol. XXIX, pp. 48ff.

[5] See Bhandarkar's List, Nos. 578, 1271, 1272, 1291, 1307, 1375, etc.

[6] *Ibid.*, Nos. 86, 262, 1004, etc.; *Or. Hist. Res. Journ.*, vol. I, No. 2, p. 8; etc.

[7] *Ibid.*, Nos. 49, 357, 360, 366, 559, 1632, etc.; *IHQ.*, vol. XXX, p. 187; *JAS.*, Letters, vol. XIX, Plate II; etc. I have examined some inscriptions in which the word is written as *smat*, etc.

[8] See Bhandarkar, *op. cit.*, Nos. 1133, 1769, etc., and numerous instances in *SII.*, vols. V and VI.

[9] *Ep. Ind.*, vol. XXIX, pp. 105ff.

Thirdly, an important fact which is ignored by Dr. Majumdar, in this connection is that, when 48 has been written in ordinary numerical figures, the hundred digit was expected to have been written in the figure for 1 and not the symbol for 100. The fact that, in the whole range of Indian epigraphy, we have very few dates, in which symbols and figures were employed at the same time through confusion, seems to go clearly against Dr. Majumdar's reading of the date of the Imādpur inscriptions.

As regards the figure for 4 in the date of the Imādpur inscriptions, Dr. Majumdar says that it "is unlike that used in Bengal and Bihār during the Pāla and Sena periods but closely resembles the form used in Nepalese MSS." The statement is rather misleading. In the first place, down to the close of the twelfth century A.D., the same script (i.e. the Gauḍī or Proto-Bengali) was prevalent in Bengal, the major part of Bihār and Nepāl with little or no regional modification. This fact is quite clearly admitted by Bendall although in his Catalogue he writes "Bengal" to indicate both Bengal and Bihār probably because Bihār was then included in the Presidency of Bengal[10]. Secondly, there is definite evidence to show that the manuscripts found in Nepāl, i.e. the so-called "Nepalese MSS", were not all copied in Nepāl or by Nepalese copyists but that some of them at least were copied in Bihār and Bengal or by Bihārī and Bengali copyists[11]. In his Historical Introduction to H. P. Sastri's *Catalogue of Palm-leaf and Selected Paper MSS belonging to the*

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[10] *Catalogue of the Buddhist Sanskrit Manuscripts* by Cecil Bendall, Cambridge, 1883, pp. xvii ff. In his remarks on MS. Add. 1364, Bendall includes Magadha (South Bihār) in Bengal.

[11] For the activities in Nepāl of certain medieval authors stated to be either Maithili or Bengali, see *JRASB.*, Letters, vol. XVI, p. 269. Bendall's manuscript No. Add. 1364 was copied by an inhabitant of Magadha (South Bihār) settled in Nepāl.

Durbar Library, Nepal, Bendall himself speaks of a large number of manuscripts in the Nepalese collection, which were "written by Tirhuti scribes in their characteristic (Maithili) script and dated mostly in the common era of the country, that of Lakṣmaṇasena"[12]. Thirdly, the figure for 4 as used in the Imādpur inscriptions, which exhibits a slightly earlier stage of development than its modern Bengali and Devanāgarī forms, is found in the Maithilī script[13] and its occurrence in the medieval inscriptions from North Bihār has to be regarded as quite normal. Fourthly, the Devanāgarī form of the same numeral, which stands at a litttle later stage of development than the form found in the Imādpur inscriptions, is actually found in such medieval Bihār epigraphs as the Sone East Bank plate (line 28) of V.S. 1254 (1197 A.D.)[14] and the Bihārsharif stone inscription of V.S. 1458 (1400 A.D.)[15]. There is thus little doubt that the form of 4 found in the Imādpur inscriptions was prevalent in Bihār in the age of the Pālas who appear to have continued to rule over parts of Bihār till the beginning of the thirteenth century[16].

Dr. Majumdar refers the year 148, the date of the Imādpur inscriptions as read by him, to the Nepāl era of 879-80 A. D. To show that the use of the Nepāl era in these inscriptions, found in the Muzaffarpur District of North Bihār, is nothing abnormal, he quotes the views of Sylvain Lévi as expressed in the *Le Népal*, Vol. II, and cites what he thinks to be evidence supplied by certain manuscripts. In our opinion, however, both the "evidences", on which he has relied, are utterly inconclusive.

Lévi (as quoted by Dr. Majumdar) says, "It is not impossible that the Pāla dynasty had imposed at this time (beginning of the 11th century) at least a nominal suzerainty over Nepal. This satisfactorily explains the presence, in the Nepalese collection, of manuscripts copied during the reign of the Pālas, specially Mahīpāla and Nayapāla". But the existence in Nepāl (accepting for the moment that the manuscripts were collected from Nepāl alone and not from the adjoining land of Bihār) of manuscripts, copied in the dominions and during the reigns of th- Pāla kings, scarcely proves Pāla occupation of Nepāl (for which, by the way, there is not even an iota of proof) just as the discovery of Maithilī manuscripts in Tibet[17] does not prove Maithilī occupation of that country. There is definite evidence to show that books copied outside Nepāl often found their way into that country. By way of illustration, reference may be made to the celebrated "Nepalese Manuscript" of the *Rāmāyaṇa*, copied in Tīrabhukti (North Bihār) in Saṁvat 1076 (1019 A.D.) during the reign of Gāṅgeyadeva, apparently the Kalachuri king of that name[18]. The fact that the manuscripts in question do not bear dates in the Nepāl era according to the prevalent custom in Nepāl shows that they were copied outside that country. A much more satisfactory explanation of the existence in Nepāl of manuscripts copied in the Pāla dominions is apparently the widely held and justifiable view that, during the early days of Muslim occupation of Eastern India, many scholars, afraid of Turkish persecution, fled to the Nepāl region together with the books in their family libraries[19].

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[12] Cf. *op. cit.*, 1905, p. 18 of the introductory part.

[13] See Ojha, *Prācīnalipimālā*, Plate LXXVIII, Section III.

[14] Cf. *Ep. Ind.*, vol. XXIII, Plate facing 228.

[15] See *JBORS.*, vol. XXVIII, Plate facing p. 440.

[16] Cf. *IHQ.*, vol. XXX, pp. 123-45.

In the same connection, Dr. Majumdar also speaks of the evidence of manuscripts written in Newārī (the script of Nepāl) but referring to "Indian" kings in their colophons and those written in an "Indian" script but bearing dates in the Nepāl era and refers to the following manuscripts:

(1) the *Kubjikāmata* written in the Newārī script but during the reign of Rāmapāla;

(2) the *Aṣṭasāhasrikā Prajñāpāramitā* written in Newārī Rañjā but dedicated by Vāsantīdevī, queen of the Gāhaḍavāla king Govindacandra of the U. P.;

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[17] Cf. *JBORS*. vol. XXIII, p. 31; J. Mishra, *A History of the Maithilī Literature*, vol. I, p. 69.

[18] Cf. *JAS*, Letters, vol. XVII, p. 27. Several manuscripts copied during the reign of Govindapāla, whose rule was confined to parts of South Bihār according to scholars including Dr. Majumdar himself, were found in the Nepalese collection (cf. Bendall's MS. Add. 1699, 1-3). These are not dated in the Nepāl era according to Nepalese practice. No. 1261 (ṭha) of H. P. Sastri's Nepāl Catalogue was copied at Navadvīpa (Nadia) in Bengal.

[19] Wright, *Nepāl*, p.72; Bendall, *Catalogue*, p. xxii; R.D. Banerji, *Bāṅgālār Itihāsa*, vol. I, 2nd ed., p. 354.

(3) the *Padmanābhasaṁgraha* written in Bengali but dated in the Nepāl era; and

(4) the *Nāgānanda* written in Bengali but dated in the Nepāl era.

Unfortunately the data appear to us absolutely unreliable. In the first place, in view of the close resemblance among the early medieval scripts of Bengal, East and North Bihār and Nepāl, the description of the alphabet of Nos. 1, 3 and 4 cannot but be regarded as suspicious. I have doubts that these manuscripts were actually copied in North Bihār.[20] That No. 1 does not bear the date in the Nepāl era seems to show that it was copied outside Nepāl. Secondly, supposing that the descriptions are correct and exhibit accurate palaeographical knowledge of the examiners of the manuscripts in question, it is impossible to exclude the possibility of the employment of the professional copyists of one area in an adjoining region. Nos. 3 and 4, said to be written in Bengali (Maithilī?) characters but dated in the Nepāl era, go very clearly in support of this view. In his Historical Introduction to H. P. Sastri's *Catalogue* referred to above, Bendall says, "There would seem to have been a certain degree of literary intercourse between Nepāl and Tirhut, the frontier state on the direct route to the plains. Accordingly, a large number of the MSS of this Catalogue are written by Tirhuti scribes......On pp. 131-2 we find a case where a MS is copied by a Tirhuti scribe domiciled in Nepal. A notice of far greater interest......a case of intercourse in the opposite direction, where a Nepalese scribe was living in Tirhut."[21] Thirdly, No. 2 hardly proves anything at all as Vāsantīdevī might have been a princess of Nepāl or she might have engaged a Nepalese copyist for the copying of the sacred text for dedication.

D. C. SIRCAR

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[20] Nos. 92, 1076 (*ṅa* and *ña*), etc., of Sastri's Nepāl Catalogue are stated to be written in Bengali characters but dated in the La. Saṁ. which is characteristic of Mithilā.

[21] *Op. cit.*, p. 18.

A Unique Image of Yoga-Nārāyaṇa in the Jodhpur Museum

Indian scholars have published a lot of materials pertaining to the stone images of *Yoga-Nārāyaṇa* so far discovered in different parts of India.[1] In such sculptures, Viṣṇu (a prominent deity of the Hindu pantheon) is to be seen sitting with his lower hands in a meditating posture[2] while the upper two hands carry his usual weapons[3] (*āyudhas*).

The Sardar Museum[4] at Jodhpur (*Rājpūtānā*) contains a black stone image (brought from Ḍīḍawānā[5] (Jodhpur division) depicting the *Yoga-Nārāyaṇa* device in a unique way[6]. This sculpture perhaps belongs to the early mediaeval period, somewhere towards the middle of the ninth[7] century A. D. It measures about 18 inches in height and 13 inches in breadth and shows happy signs of perfect preservation.

In the sculpture under study, four handed Viṣṇu has the palm of his lower two hands placed one over the other (between the soles of feet) in a traditional manner. They have covered the naval portion of the deity altogether. Underneath the legs of Viṣṇu hangs the garland which rests on the upturned lotus throne. Just below this lotus-throne, two persons (facing each other) are looking at the deity with their hands folded. To the right and left of these devotees have been carved the *siṃhavyālas*; and just above them the *makara-vyālas*, *aśva-vyālas* and *gaja-vyālas* in a descending order.

Viṣṇu himself wears the tiara (*kirīṭa mukuṭa*) on his head, sacred thread on the body and some ornaments round the neck, ankles, arms, ears etc. There is also a *śrīvatsa* mark in the middle of the chest. Behind the head of the deity appears a hallow encircled by 13 hoods of a snake. On both the sides of the deity appear the flying *gandharvas*, very keen to garland the meditating deity seated below.

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[1] Cf. T. G. Rao, *Elements of Hindu Iconography*, Madras, I (i), pp. 85 ff.; J. N. Banerjee, *Journal of the Indian Society of Oriental Art*, Calcutta, XIII, pp. 89-95; C. Śivarāmamūrti, *Ancient India* (Bulletin of the *Archaeological Survey in India*), New Delhi, VI, p. 4 plate XII A and B.

[2] Also called as *vaddhapadmāsana* (or *Yogāsana*) *mudrā*.

[3] They usually include the mace, the conch, the lotus and the wheel.

[4] The writer of this paper now happens to be the Superintendent of this Museum.

[5] Situated in *tahsil* Ḍīḍawānā of District Nāgour.

[6] Cf. My paper in the *Journal of the Museums Association of India*, Bombay, 1953, IX, pp. 104-5, plate XXII, figure 46 facing p. 104.

[7] Dr. H. Goetz (during a personal talk at the Oriental Conference held at Ahmedabad in November 1953) too agrees with this view.

The most remarkable feature of the above image is the *presence of the garland in both the upper hands of Viṣṇu*. The weapons[8] usually held by Viṣṇu, are not to be seen anywhere in this sculpture. That is the reason why the above image of Jodhpur Museum stands unrivalled in the realm of ancient Indian art. Most of the details of this image are somewhat akin to those presented by D. 37 image (of *Yoga-Nārāyaṇa*) preserved in the Archaeological Museum at Mathurā.[9] But the garland upheld in the upper hands is conspicuous by its absence even in the sculpture of the Mathurā Museum. Numerous *Yoga-Nārāyaṇa* images have been recovered from various parts of Rājpūtānā too but none of them stands in comparison with the one from Ḍīḍawānā (as discussed above).

It now remains to be searched under what literary initiative did the sculptor of Rājaputānā fashion this unique image altogether in an untraditional manner?

It is also essential here to scrutinize the contents of an epigraph (dated 1161 A. D.) from Nāḍol (Jodhpur Division). This inscription[10] refers to a harmonious relationship as existed between the members of the Jaina community and the followers of Brahmanic faith. This is evident from the fact that Viṣṇu, Brahmā and Śiva[11] have all been called as *Jinas*. There is no wonder then that the members of the local Jaina and Brahmanic communities got the above image of Viṣṇu fashioned in such a manner as to suit the taste of all and to serve the purpose of being worshipped by the non-Vaiṣṇavas too. That may account for the utter absence of the weapons of Viṣṇu in the above image. The image thus might have become an object of common worship for any devotee who believed in the efficacy of meditation and idol-worship. Nay, it could even prove worth adoration at the hands of the staunch followers of Śiva, Buddha etc. But the new device appears to have been invented under the pressure of Jainism alone which was quite popular in Rājasthāna in the mediaeval period. Perhaps the Vaiṣṇavas did not even hesitate in departing from the traditional mode of carving the *Yoga-Nārāyaṇa* images. It is to be searched further whether any literary text allows the carving of this type of images in altogether a unique way, as has been put forth by the above sculpture of the Jodhpur Museum.

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[8] As a matter of fact we even expected any of these weapons either below the lotus throne or in the hands of the persons seated below.

[9] This sculpture has been illustrated by Dr. V. S. Agrawala, *Handbook of the Sculptures in the Curzon Museum of Archaeology Muttra*, 1939, Allahabad, Plate XXII, figure 45; *ibid*., pp. 56, 60.

[10] *Epigraphia Indica*, IX, pp. 67-8, referring to the interesting phrases such as:—श्रों स्वस्ति श्रियै भवन्तु वो देवाः ब्रह्मश्रीधरशङ्कराः सदा विरागवन्तो ये जिन जगति विश्रुताः ।

[11] Cf. *Progress Report of Archaeological Survey* (*Western Circle*), Poona, 1905, p. 55 referring to the following statement:—"On the dedicatory blocks of many Śaiva temples in Rājapūtānā, Śiva is figured like a *Jina*. This is an interesting feature of Brahmanical iconography which requires to be carefully and thoroughly studied". The Indore Museum contains an image (of

RATNA CHANDRA AGRAWALA

Yogeśvara Śiva) which resembles the sculpture of Ṛṣabhadeva [cf. *Jaina Antiquary*, Arrah, XVIII (ii), 1952, pp. 1-5].

Select Contents of Oriental Journals

Adyar Library Bulletin, vol. XVIII, pts. 3-4

LUDO ROCHER.—*Possession held for Three Generations by Persons related to the Owner.* The legal authorities like Bṛhaspati as interpreted in this discussion of a point of ancient Hindu law, hold that "possession held for three generations does not create ownership for a *sapiṇḍa*, whereas it does for a *sakulya* and all other people".

K. KUNJUMI RAJA.—*The Theory of Meaning according to Buddhist Logicians.* The linguistic problems like the interrelation of speech, thought and facts are viewed by the Buddhist logicians from their own metaphysical standpoint. They take the world as a universal flux in which the conceptual image of a thing has no direct correspondence with the external counterpart, the two being mutually different. The mental image created by a word therefore is not grounded in an objective reality, but is only a subjective concept.

V. RAGHAVAN.—*Some Corrections and Emendations to the Text of the Abhinava-bhāratī.* Suggestions made in these notes show that the printed texts of Abhinavagupta's commentary on the *Nāṭyaśāstra* need corrections of a varied nature.

P. K. GODE.—*The Chronology of the Works of Koṇḍabhaṭṭa, a Nephew of Bhaṭṭoji Dīkṣita—Between A.D. 1610 and 1660.*

AIYASWAMI SASTRI.—*Some Abhidharma Problems.* Vasubandhu and Yaśomitra have given in their works various views in regard to the phenomenon of perception as held by the Vaibhāṣikas, Sautrāntikas, Vijñānavādins and some other Buddhist schools. In Kweichi's Chinese commentary on the *Viṃśikā* of Vasubandhu are also recorded eleven points of views relating to perception. These views have been briefly discussed in the paper.

RATNA CHANDRA AGRAWALA.—*Some Important Mediaeval Images of Viṣṇu from Rajputana.*

K. GURU DUTT.—*The Nāḍī Symbolism in Indian Thought.* References to *Nāḍīs* and *Cakras* as symbols for paths and regions are found in the Vedic, Tantric and Buddhistic literature, specially in the portions dealing with Yoga practices.

K. V. Sarma.—*The Rāśigolasphuṭā nīti of Acyuta.* A short Sanskrit text 'on the Calculation of True Longitude on the Celestial Sphere and Reduction to the Ecliptic in Indian Astronomy' has been edited and translated into English with Introduction.

Alain Danielou.—*Viṣṇu the Pervader.* The paper tries to determine the position of Viṣṇu in the cosmological Trinity, and discusses the significance of the names and incarnations, images and icons, weapons and attendants along with various other paraphernelia associated with the god.

Bulletin of the Chunilal Gandhi Vidyabhavan (Surat), No. 1

R. G. Asti.—*Aśvaghoṣa and his Mahākāvyas.* The paper deals with Aśvaghoṣa's date and religious belief, and analyses his major works the *Sundarananda* and the *Buddhacarita*.

Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies,
vol. XVI, pt. 3

W. S. Allen.—*Retroflexion in Sanskrit: Prosodic Technique and its Relevance to Comparative Statement.*

J. Burton-Page.—*The Name 'Nepal'.* Skt. *Nepāla* is suggested to have been a back-formation from Pkt. *nevāla*, that being conjectured as the development of **nīpāla*. *Nīpa* means 'damp, low-lying', and *āla* is an Old Indo-Aryan suffix for conveying the sense of 'pertaining to, possessing'.

Ceylon Historical Journal, vol. II, no. 4

S. Vaiyapuri Pillai.—*Life in Ancient Tamil City Kaveripatanam.*

Bhogilal J. Sandesara.—*Ceylon in Literature and Tradition of Gujarat.*

Journal of the American Oriental Society, No. 17
(July-September, 1954)

Daniel H. H. Ingalls.—*Authority and law in Ancient India.* A symposium was held in America on 'authority and law' in six different countries of the ancient orient. This paper relating to India formed a part of the symposium. The word 'law' in the

Indian view connotes two sets of things, the one religious and the other profane', taught respectively by the *Dharmasūtras* and the *Arthaśāstra*. A highly centralised administration with an emphasis on the king's authority brought about a development of legal ideas in the Mauryan State of ancient India which was analogous to the laws of the contemporary Ch'in State in ancient China.

Journal of the Bombay Branch of the Rayal Asiatic Society,
vol. 29 part 1

P. V. KANE.—*The Word 'Vrata' in the Ṛgveda.* In this paper dealing with the derivation and semantic development of the word *vrata*, various Ṛgvedic passages containing the word, either by itself or in combination, have extensively been examined. *Vrata* is derived from the root '*vṛ*' (to choose) with the addition of the suffix *ta*, meaning 'what is willed' or simply 'will', and therefore also 'command' or 'law'. The three words *ṛta*, *vrata* and *dharman* mean respectively the universal cosmic order, the laws or ordinances and the religious rites.

S. N. GAJENDRAGADKAR.—*Decorative Style of Alaṃkāras in the Bṛhadāraṇyakopaniṣad.*

A. B. WALAWALKAR.—*Decipherment of a Pre-Asokan Brahmi Writing found engraved on a Babylonian Tablet.* A tablet from Babylon (now kept at the British Museum) recording the sale of a slave is believed to have been written in a Pre-Asokan variety of Brahmi script. It is the oldest Indian writing known yet.

G. C. JHALA.—*The Problem of the Yajñaphalam.* The Sanskrit drama *Yajñaphala* has been ascribed to Bhāsa by its publisher. But there is sufficient internal evidence in the work that leads to the conclusion that the drama was composed in imitation of the Trivandrum plays in modern times.

Journal of Indian History, vol XXXII, part 2

VIJAYAKANTA MISHRA.—*Sea and Land Trade as revealed in the Buddhist Literature.*

RADHAKRISHNA CHAUDHARY.—*Political History of Mithila (c. 7th-11th century A.D.)*

K. D. SWAMINATHAN.—*The Horse Traders of Malai-Maṇḍalam.* The epigraphical evidence shows that the Kudirai-cheṭṭis (horse dealers) who had their headquarters in Malai-Maṇḍalam (Travancore) imported horses at ports in South India during the 12th and the 13th centuries A.C.

M. L. MATHUR.—*Mewar and the Turkish Invaders of India.*

Journal of the Oriental Institute, M. S. University of Baroda, vol. III, no. 4

S. N. VYAS.—*The Culture of Hermitages in the Rāmāyaṇa.* This is a survey of the ascetic culture as reflected in the frequent delineations of the hermitages in the *Rāmāyaṇa.* The discussion is divided under the following headings: Austerities, Śramaṇas, Female Ascetics, Ascetic Viees and the Ideal Ascetic.

LUDO ROCHER,—*Halāyudha-nibandha*: *A Collection of fragments on the Vivādapadas.* Quotations are found in different *Smṛti-nibandhas* from a treatise on vyavahāra written by Halāyudha. About one hundred of these quotations have been compiled and annotated in this paper to be published in instalments.

S. N. GHOSAL.—*Dr. H. Jacobi's Introduction to the Bhavissattakahā.* Translated from original German.

SIVAPRASAD BHATTACHARYA.—*Viśvanātha Kavirāja and his References to forgotten Ālaṃkāra Writers.* The Kapiñjala family of Orissa to which Viśvanātha belonged had several scholars and poets among its members. In the *Sāhityadarpaṇa*, Viśvanātha refers to them along with other contemporary and earlier writers. Their views as cited by Viśvanātha are discussed in the paper.

A. N. JANI.—*Method of Writing in the Medieval India as Reflected in the Naiṣadhīyacarita.*

U. VENKATA KRISHNA RAO.—*Bhāsa's Affiliation with Epic Poets.*

LOUIS RENOU.—*Notes on Ṛgvedic Grammar.* Some interesting cases of semantics are discussed from the data dealt with in the annotations of Geldner's translation of the *Ṛgveda.*

RADHAKRISHNA CHAUDHARY.—*Some Aspects of Social History as gleaned through the Jaimini Gṛhyasūtra.* The treatment of the subject includes discussions of the following items: sacrifice, birth of a male-child, educational system, marriage, funeral ceremony, protection of the house, the planets and constellations, and importance of Vedic recitations.

V. M. Kulkarni.—*Sanskrit Writers on Plagiarisms.*

Ibid., vol. IV, no. 1

S. N. Vyas.—*The Civilization of Rākṣasas in the Rāmāyaṇa.* From an analysis of the *Rāmāyaṇa* account of the Rākṣasa chief's conflict with Rāma, the writer of the paper conjectures that Rākṣasas were the primitive Dravidians, who possessed independent kingdoms and had their special culture and political ideas.

Ludo Rocher.—*Halāyudha-nibandha: A Collection of Fragments on the Vivādapadas.* Continued.

P. K. Gode.—*The Contact of Bhaṭṭoji Dīkṣita and some Members of his Family with the Keḷadi Rulers of Ikkeri—Between c. A.D., 1592 and 1645.* Though normally residing at Banaras, Bhaṭṭoji has stated that he has composed his *Tattvakaustabha* at the request of Veṅkaṭappa Nāyaka I of Ikkeri in the present Mysore State. Bhaṭṭoji's brother Raṅgoji enjoyed the benevolence of the same Keḷadi ruler, while his nephew Koṇḍabhaṭṭa was patronised by Veṅkaṭappa's grandson Vīrabhadra.

S. N. Ghosal.—*Dr. H. Jacobi's Introduction to the Bhavisattakahā.* Continued.

P. C. Divanji.—*Influence of the Rāmāyaṇa on the Gujarati Literature*

V. M. Kulkarni.—*Sanskrit Writers on Plagiarism.* Continued.

Umakant Premanand Shah.—*Vikramāditya Saga.*—I. The account of Vikramāditya as given in the *Jyotirvidābharaṇa* attributed to Kālidāsa is considered to be reliable and genuine. It might have, however, been borrowed from some lost Praśasti of Candragupta II. Vikramāditya.

Yashavant R. Pandit.—*Method of Inquiry into the Constitutional Temperaments*—प्रकृति-परीक्षापद्धतिः. The discussion is based on the Āyurvedic views.

Journal of the University of Bombay, vol. XXII, part 2

H. D. Velankar.—*Hymns to Indra in Maṇḍala X.* Twenty one hymns of the *Ṛgveda* (X, 105, 111-113, 116, 119, 120, 131

133, 134, 138, 144, 147, 148, 152, 153, 160, 167, 171, 179, 180) have been rendered into English with annotations.

P. M. MODI.—*Bādarāyaṇa's Conception of Brahman.* A fresh Interpretation of Brahmasūtrā I, 2.

S. N. GAJENDRAGADKAR. श्रीसुल्हणकृता वृत्तरत्नाकरवृत्तिः. The last three chapters (4·6) of this edited work appear in this instalment.

RAM SHANKAR BHATTACHARYA.—*Some Unknown Senses of Plural Number as shown by Pāṇini.* A list of thirteeen different senses in which the plural number is used in the *Aṣṭādhyāyī* has been given.

SADASHIV A DANGE.—*The Order of the 'Duryodhana Plays of Bhāsa.* The *Dūtavākya*, *Dūtaghaṭotkaca*, *Pañcarātra* and *Urubhaṅga* are the four dramas of Bhāsa in which Duryodhana figures. In depicting the character of Duryodhana in these Plays, Bhāsa seems to have a definite plan in his mind. His hero in the *Dūtavākya* traverses from its *epic* plane gradually through the two other plays to 'the highest peak of nobility' in the *Ūrubhaṅga.*

HIRALAL R. KAPADIA.—*Illustration of Letter-Diagrams.* Several Citrālaṃkāras are shown in illustrated diagrams.

Journal of the University of Poona, No. 1

K. N. WATWE.—*Laughter as a Rasa.* (*A Psychological Reorientation*).

SRINIWAS DEXIT.—*Argumentative Faults in Śaṃkara's Commentary on the Brahmasūtra.* The writer gives a few specimens of what he considers to be fallacies in Śaṃkara's arguments in the *Brahmasūtra-bhāṣya.*

P. V. BAPAT.—*Sammā-pāsa and other Allied Sacrifices in Pali Literature.* Various sacrifices have been described and explained in the Pali commentary in terms of Brāhmaṇical tradition.

P. K. GODE.—*A Rare Manuscript of a Commentary on the Siddhāntakaumudī called Līlāvatī by Mimāṃsaka Giridhara.* Giridhara, born in the last quarter of the 17th century, wrote the *Līlāvatī*, a fragmentary ms. of which has been described here.

T. G. KALGHATAGI.—*Nature of Soul in Jainism.*

R. N. DANDEKAR.—*Rudra in the Veda.*

LANGUAGE (Journal of the Linguistic Society of America)

vol. 29, no. 3

JULES BLOCH.— *Prakrit cia, Latin quidem.*

RALON WELLS.—*Secondary Derivation from Sanskrit i-stems.*

E. Adilaide Hahn.—*Some Hittite-Sanskrit Parallels.*

M. B. EMENEAU.—*Dravidian Kinship Terms.*

Speculam (A Journal of Medieval Studies, America),

vol. XXIX, no. 2

S. D. GOITEIN.—*From the Mediterranean to India.* Documents dealt with here relate to the trade to India, South Arabia and East Africa from the 11th and 12th centuries.

Vak (Deccan College Post-Graduate and Research Institute), no. 3

LOUIS RENOU.—*Words from Bhāṣāvṛtti of Puruṣottamadeva.*

M. M. PATKAR.—*A Note on the Word Nagnikā and its Bearing on the Marriageable Age of Girls in Ancient India.*

ANDRE BAREAN.—*Abhidharmakośakārikā of Vasubandhu.*

LOUIS RENOU.—*Index of Viṃśikā and Triṃśikā of Vasubandhu.*

RAM SHANKAR BHATTACHARYA.—*Kinds of Agents as depicted by Pāṇini.*

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CONTENTS

Vol. XXVII

ARTICLES

PAGE

Antiquities of Biharsarif 151
By Adris Banerji, M.A.

Arthaśāstra Material in the Raghuvaṁśa 129
By Prof. Dasharatha Sharma, M.A.

Bearing of the numismatics on the history of the tribal republics in ancient India 197
By Parmeshwari Lal Gupta, M.A.

Buddhism in Kāmarūpa 144
By Maheswar Neog, M.A.

Chitor and Ala-ud-din Khalji 52
By Prof. M. L. Mathur, M.A.

Dispute between Court Cutcherry and Mayor's Court, Calcutta 35
By Tarit K. Mukherji, M.A.

Eastern Expansion of the Kuṣāṇa Empire 294
By Adris Banerji, M.A.

Economic Condition of India in 1774-77 44
By Dr. R. C. Mitra, M.A., D. Litt.

Fresh Light on the Deogarh Relief of Nara-Nārāyaṇa ... 191
By T. N. Ramachandran, M.A.

Harṣa Era 183
By Dr. R. C. Majumdar, M.A., Ph.D.

Interesting Terracotta Plaque from Ahicchatrā (U.P.) ... 304
By T. N. Ramachandran, M.A.

King Sātavāhana of the Coins 210
By Dr. Sant Lal Katare, M.A., D. Litt.

Laṅkā 119
By Dr. S. B. Chaudhuri, M.A., Ph.D.

Mañcapuri Cave 103
By T. N. Ramachandran, M.A.

Observations on the sources of the Apabhraṃśa stanzas of Hemacandra 18
By Prof. S. N. Ghosal, M.A.

Problem of Perception in Advaita Vedānta 287
By Bratindra Kumar Sengupta, M.A.

Śaśāṅka—King of Bengal 312
By Prof. S. K. Banerjee, M.A.

Some Chronological Considerations about Pāṇini's Date 269
By Dr. Vasudeva S. Agrawala, M.A., Ph.D.
Some Foreign Words in Ancient Sanskrit Literature ... 1
By Dr. V. S. Agrawala, M.A., Ph.D.
Srāddhasāgara of Kullūka Bhaṭṭa 109
By Dinesh Chandra Bhattacharyya, M.A.
Srīmad Bhāgavata – the Place of its Origin 138
By Dr. J. N. Banerjea, M.A., Ph.D.
Tāranātha's History of Buddhism in India 239
By Drs. U. N. Ghoshal & N. Dutt, M.A., Ph.D.
Text of the Purāṇic List of Rivers 215
By Dr. Dines Chandra Sircar, M.A., Ph.D.

MISCELLANY

Ārya-Mañjuśrī-Mūla-Kalpa on Candragupta I ... 170
By Kailash Chandra Ojha, M.A.
Aśvaghoṣa and the Nāṭyaśāstra 340
By Dr. Manomohan Ghosh, M.A., Ph.D.
Bāla-valabhī-bhujaṅga 80
By Dr. D. C. Sircar, M.A., Ph. D.
Cedis 250
By Dr. S. B. Chaudhuri, M.A., Ph.D.
Constitution of the Licchavīs and the Śākyas ... 327
By Dr. R. C. Majumdar, M.A., Ph.D.
Date of the Kāñci-Kāverī Expedition—A reply ... 76
By P. Mukherjee, M.A.
Few leaves from the history of Singhbhum:
A hundred years ago 70
By Dr. P. R. Sen, M.A., Ph.D.
Harṣa's Accession and the Harṣa Era 321
Note on the Chronology of the Śailodbhavas... ... 166
By Dr. D. C. Sircar, M.A., Ph.D.
Note on the Genealogy of the Angrias 161
By Upendra Nath Sarkar, M.A.
Pretended Embassy of Shah Jahan to China in 1656 ... 82
By Dr. Luciano Petech, M.A., Ph. D.
Sākta festivals of Bengal and their Antiquity ... 255
By Prof. Chintaharan Chakravarti, M.A.
Significance of two historical titles 337
By Prof. Dasharatha Sharma, M.A.
Spread of the Saka Era in South India 174
By Dr. D. C. Sircar, M.A., Ph. D.

Spread of the Saka Era in South India 341
By Prof. V. V. Mirashi, M.A.
Was Sumati—the Author of the Prākṛta Paiṅgala ... 333
By Prof. S. N. Ghosal, M.A.
REVIEWS 86-92, 347-349
SELECT CONTENTS OF ORIENTAL JOURNALS
93, 177, 261, 350
BIBLIOGRAPHICAL NOTES 100, 265, 360

ALPHABETICAL LIST OF CONTRIBUTORS

Agrawala, Dr. V. S., M.A., Ph. D.
Some Foreign Words in Ancient Sanskrit Literature 1
Some Chronological Considerations about Pāṇini's Date 269
Banerjea, Dr. J. N., M.A., Ph. D.
Srīmad Bhāgavata—the Place of its Origin ... 138
Banerjee, Prof. S. K., M.A.
Saśāṅka—King of Bengal 312
Banerji, Adris, M.A.
Antiquities of Biharsarif 151
Eastern Expansion of the Kuṣāṇa Empire ... 294
Bhattacharyya, Dinesh Chandra, M.A.
Srāddhasāgara of Kullūka Bhaṭṭa 109
Chakravarti, Prof. Chintaharan, M.A.
Sākta festivals of Bengal and their Antiquity ... 255
Chaudhuri, Dr. S. B., M.A., Ph. D.
Cedis 250
Laṅkā 119
Ghosal, Prof. Sibendranath, M.A.
Observations on the sources of the Apabhraṁśa stanzas of Hemacandra 18
Was Sumati—the Author of the Prākṛta Paiṅgala ... 333
Ghoshal, Dr. U. N., & Dutt N., M.A., Ph. D.
Tāranātha's History of Buddhism in India ... 239
Ghosh, Dr. Manomohan, M.A., Ph. D.
Aśvaghoṣa and the Nāṭaśāstra 340
Gupta, Parmeshwari Lal, M.A.
Bearing of the numismatics on the history of the tribal republics in ancient India 197
Katare, Dr. Sant Lal, M.A., D. Litt.
King Sātavāhana of the Coins 210
Majumdar, Dr. R. C., M.A., Ph. D.
Constitution of the Licchavīs and the Sākyas ... 327
Harṣa Era 183

Mirashi, Prof. V. V., M.A.
  Spread of the Saka Era in South India 341
Mukherjee, P., M.A.
  Date of the Kāñci-Kāverī Expedition—A reply .. 76
Mukherji, Tarit K., M.A.
  Dispute between Court Cutcherry and Mayor's Court, Calcutta 35
Mathur, Prof. M.L., M.A.
  Chitor and Ala-ud-din Khalji 52
Mitra, Dr. R. C., M.A., D. Litt.
  Economic Condition of India in 1774-77 44
Neog, Maheswar, M.A.
  Buddhism in Kāmarūpa 144
Ojha, Kailash Chandra, M.A.
  Ārya-Mañjuśrī Mūla-Kalpa on Candragupta I ... 170
Petech, Dr. Luciano, M.A., Ph. D.
  Pretended Embassy of Shah Jahan to China in 1654 82
Ramachandran, T. N., M.A.
  Fresh Light on the Deogarh Relief of Nara-Nārāyaṇa 191
  Interesting Terracotta Plaque from Ahicchatrā (U.P.) 304
  Mañcapuri Cave 103
Sarkar, Upendra Nath, M.A.
  Note on the Genealogy of the Angrias 161
Sen, Dr. P. R., M.A., Ph. D.
  Few leaves from the history of Singhbhum : A hundred years ago... 70
Sengupta, Bratindra Kumar, M.A.
  Problem of Perception in Advaita-Vedānta ... 287
Sharma, Prof. Dasharatha, M.A
  Arthaśāstra Material in the Raghuvaṁśa... ... 129
  Significance of two historical titles 337
Sircar, Dr. D. C., M.A., Ph. D.
  Bāla-valabhi-bhujaṅga 80
  Harṣa's Accession and the Harṣa Era 321
  Note on the Chronology of the Śailodbhavas ... 166
  Spread of the Saka Era in South India 174
  Text of the Purāṇic List of Rivers 215

INDEX

Āditya. See Kramāditya

Advaita-Vedānta, problem of perception and, 287-293

Agra (1774-7), economic condition of, 48

Āgreya, 201

Ahicchatrā, terracotta plaque on the fight between Jayadratha and Yudhiṣṭhira from, 304-311

Ala-ud-din, character of, 54; causes for the attack of Chitor by, 55; see Chitor

Alberuni on Harṣa era, 184f.

Ambuvācī, 258

Aṃśuvarman, 186-7

Ancient India, tribal republics in, 197-209

Andhaka-Vṛṣṇi, 203

Angrias, genealogy of, 161-5; Courtney's report about, 162-4

Annapūrṇā worship in Bengal, 257

Apabhraṃśa stanzas of Hemacandra, observations on the sources of, 18-34

Ārjunāyana, 208

Arthaśāstra material in the Raghuvaṃsa, 129-137

Aśvaghoṣa and the Nāṭya-śāstra, 340

Atharva-veda, foreign words in, 1-3

Audumbara, 203 f.

Bālavalabhi-bhujaṅga (= Bhaṭṭa Bhavadeva), 80-2; meaning of, 339

Banking in India (1774-7), 50-1

Bengal (1774-7), economic condition of, 45; trade of, 46

Biharsarif, antiquity of, 151-160; identification of, 159; ruling dynasties of, 152-4

Bhakti cult, 138 f.

Bhāskaravarman of Kāmarūpa, 144

Bhaṭṭa Bhavadeva, 80-2

Bhāṭika era, 187

Bhaumakaras of Jajpur, 169

Bhavadeva (Bhaṭṭa), career of, 80-2

Bhujaṅga (in Javanese), 81

Buddhism in Kāmarūpa, 144-150

Buddhism, Tāranātha's history (ch. 37) of, 239-249

Buddhists, Śaśāṅka's persecution of, 318

Buddhist terms in Pāṇini, 285

Calcutta (1774-7), trade of, 46

Cālukya Vikrama varṣa, 183

Caṇḍī-maṅgala poems, 258

Candragupta, Mañjuśrīmūla-kalpa on, 170-3

Caṅgalarāja (Buddhist ācārya) of Bhaṅgala, 242

Cedis, 250-4; realm of, 251

Chaibasa (of Singhbhum district), 70

China (1636), Pretended Embassy of Shah Jahan to, 82-85; Dutch embassy to, 83; no Mughal embassy to, 84

Chitor, and Ala-ud-Din Khalji, 52-69; surrender of, 55-65

Coin-evidences for date of Pāṇini, 283-4

Coins, on king Sātavāhana, 210-214; on tribal republics in ancient India, 197-209

Court Cutcherry and Mayor's Court of Calcutta, dispute between, 35-43; jurisdiction of, 36-37

Dāhala-maṇḍala, 253

Daṇḍabhukti (= Dātan), 159

Delhi Court (1774-7), decline of, 50

Deogarh Relief of Nara-Nārāyaṇa, notes on, 191-196; date of, 191

Deva Gupta, Śaśāṅka's help to, 317

Devas in Jainism, 106-7

Devī-Bhāgavata, story of Nara-Nārāyaṇa in, 193

Dhanaśrīdvipa, 248

Dharmapāla, king, 243

Dharmarāja Mānabhīta, 168f.

Dumbleton, attorney, 39

Economic condition in India (1774-7), 44-51

Foreign words in ancient Sanskrit literature, 1-17

Gahilots, capital of, 64

Hāla's Sattasai quoted by Hemacandra, 18-20
Harṣacarita, foreign word Stavaraka in, 14; Piṅga in, 15
Harṣa Era, 183-190, 321-7; Alberuni on, 184f.; inscrs. throwing light on, 186
Harṣa, accession of, 190, 321-7; Vikrama era and, 322
Harṣavardhan inscription, Śaśāṅka not referred to in, 316
Hayagrīva Mādhava temple, at Hajo, 149, visited by Tibetan monks, 149-150
Hemacandra, see Apabhraṃśa
Holwell, Zephaniah, 37-8
India (1774-7), Economic condition in, 44-51
Jagaddhātrīpūjā, 257
Jainism, souls in, 105; devas in, 106-7
Janapada (=Mitrapada), 200
Jauhar ceremony, 63
Jayadratha and Yudhiṣṭhir, terracotta plaque depict, 305; legend of, 305-9
Kālī-worship in Bengal, 256f.
Kamalarakṣita (Buddhist ācārya), 245
Kāmarūpa, Buddhism in, 144-150; mystic Buddhism in, 145-6
Kāñci-Kāverī expedition, date of, 76-9
Kapilendra Gajapati, 76
Kārṣāpaṇa, a foreign word, 5
Kashmir (1774-7), shawls etc. of, 48
Khizr Khan, Governor of Chitor, 65-66
Kirātas (=Cilātas), 145
Kirātārjunīyam of Bhāravi, Nara-Nārāyaṇa in, 196
Koki-land (eastern), Buddhism in, 246-7
Kramāditya, royal title, 337
Kṣudraka-Mālava, in Pāṇini, 280-2
Kulluka Bhaṭṭa, date of, 118; Śūlapāṇi and, 116
Kuṇinda, 206
Kuṣāṇa coins, find-spots of, 293-8
Kuṣāṇa empire, eastern expansion of, 291-303; local rulers of, 298-301
Kuṣāṇa inscriptions, find-spots of, 295-6
Lokavibhāga, a Jaina work, 1753, 43f.
Laṅkā, identification of, 119-128
Laṅkā-Jayabhadra (Buddhist ācārya), 243
Licchavis, constitution of, 327-332
Mādlā-pañji, 76
Magadha, antiquity of, 152; ruling dynasties of, 152-6
Mahābhārata, foreign words in, 4-5
Māhiṣaka, 341-2
Mahiṣa (or Māhiṣaka), identification of, 175, 341
Mālavas, 199, 201, 206
Maldeva, Chitor ruled by, 67
Maldives, Laṅkā identified with, 125
Mañcapuri Cave, 103-8; inscr. in, 103; interpretation of the scene in, 104
Mañjuśrī-mūla-kalpa on Candragupta, 170-3
Masurakṣita (king), 243
Mayor's Court. See Court Cutcherry
Mīnanātha of Kāmarūpa, 147
Mitra dynasty of Pañcāla, 205
Mitrapada (=Janapada), 200
Mewar, recovery of, 69
Modave, Court of, French adventurer, 44
Nāgānikā (queen), 212f.
Nanda (King), contemporary of Pāṇini, 275-7
Nānāghāt inscr. of Nāgānikā, 212
Nara-Nārāyaṇa, Deogarh Relief of, 191-196; epic story of, 193; Devī Bhāgavata-story of, 193
Nāṭyaśāstra, see Aśvaghoṣa
Odantapura, see Uddaṇḍapura
Padmini, story about, 52-4, 57
Pāhuḍadohā of Rāmasiṃha, Hemacandra quoted apabhraṃśa stanzas from, 25-28
Pāṇḍya country, place of origin of Śrīmad-Bhāgavata, 143
Pāṇini, foreign words, e.g , Jābāla in, 6; Hailihila in, 6; Kanthā in, 8; Nanda king contemporary of, 275-7; political data in, 277-8; Persians mentioned by, 279-280; Śraviṣṭhā as the first nakṣatra counted by, 273-5; South India known to, 271-2; Maskarī men-

tioned by, 272; Buddhist terms used by, 272; Kṣudraka-Mālava mentioned by, 280-2; Kauṭilya and, 282-3; coin-evidences relating to, 283-4
Pāṇini's date, chronological considerations about, 269-285; various opinions about, 269-271
Paramātma-prakāśa of Yogindradeva, Hemacandra quoted stanzas from, 28-30
Patañjali's Mahābhāṣya, foreign words in, 3-4
Patna, trade of, 47
Payigu-dvīpa, 248
Persians, Pāṇini refers to, 279-280
Prākṛta-Paiṅgala, author of, 333-6
Purāṇic list of rivers, text of, 215-238
Puri plates of Dharmarāja Mānabhīta, 167
Puruṣottama Gajapati, 78-9
Rāhulabhadra, see Sarahabhadra
Raghuvaṃsa, arthaśāstra materials in, 129-137
Rājyavardhana, Śaśāṅka and, 315-6
Rāmāyaṇa, geography of South India in, 121; Laṅkā described in, 122
Ratan Singh of Chitor, 52; capture of, 61; rescue of, 62
Rātī-khowā (night worshippers), Tantric, 148
Ratnarakṣita (Buddhist ācārya), 239f.
Rivers, Purāṇic list of, 215-238
Sailodbhavas, chronology of, 166-9
Saindhava-Śrāvakas, 241
Sainyabhita Mādhavavarman 166f.; plates issued by, 166; plates issued by the son of, 167
Saka era in South India, spread of, 174-6, 241-6
Saka-Kāla, 174
Sākta festivals of Bengal, antiquity of, 255-260
Śākyas, constitution of, 332-3
Śākyaśrī (Buddhist ācārya), 239f
Saṃdeśa-rāśaka, 33-4
Śaṅkaradeva, Vaiṣṇava saint of Assam, 148; Buddhism criticised by, 148; disciples of, 148-9
Sanskrit literature (ancient), foreign words in, 1-17
Sarahabhadra, birth-place of, 146-7
Sarah Shadow, complaints filed by, 40f.
Sarasvati-kaṇṭhābharaṇa of Bhojadeva, 31-2
Sarvanardi, author of Lokavibhāga, 345
Śaśāṅka, king of Bengal, 312-320; early life of, 312-3; conquests of 314-5; Rājyavardhana episode of, 315-6. Deva Gupta helped by, 317; Buddhists persecuted by, 318; career of, 319-320
Sātavāhana, king, 211
Siddhas (master of Buddha-śāstras), 239f
Siṃhala, 120
Siṃhaladvīpa, 248
Singhbhum, history of, 70-75
Sotthivati (=Suktimatī), identification of, 251
Souls, Jaina classification of, 105
Śrāddha-sāgara (a spurious work) of Kulluka Bhaṭṭa, 109-118; Sanskrit College ms. of, 109f., transcript of Śrāddhaviveka, 111
Śrāddha-viveka, 111
Śraviṣṭhā, the first Nakṣatra in Pāṇini, 273-5
Śrīmad-Bhāgavata, place of origin of, 138-143
Śrīnagara (=Biharsarif), 160
Śūlapāṇi, 117
Suktimatī, see Sotthivati
Sumati not the author of Prākṛta Paiṅgala, 333-6
Suvarṇadvīpa, 248
Tāmradvīpa, 248
Tāmraparṇi, 121, 124, 126
Tārā temple in Barisal, 260
Tantricism (Śākta), 146; Buddhist, 145
Tribal Republics in ancient India, numismatics on, 197-209; time of, 198; coin-legends of, 198-9
Tripurī (=Tewar), 252
Turuṣkas, 241, 247
Uddaṇḍapura, 157; Biharsarif identified with, 154
Vajjālugga, Hemacandra quoted apabhraṃśa stanzas from, 21-24

Vikrama era, Harṣa era and, 322
Vikramāditya, see Kramāditya
Vikramasilā teachers, order of succession of, 243-6
Vindhyāgiri (in the Rāmāyaṇa), 223-4
Vṛṣṇi, 202-3
Yaudheya, 199f., 206f.
Yavadvīpa, 248
Yavanānī, mentioned in Pāṇini, 278-9
Zemindar, office of, 37, 40f.

A Few Opinions

Prof. M. Winternitz.—It is full of highly interesting and important matter, and keeps up a high standard of scholarship......... It promises to become a great help to all students of Indian History.

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